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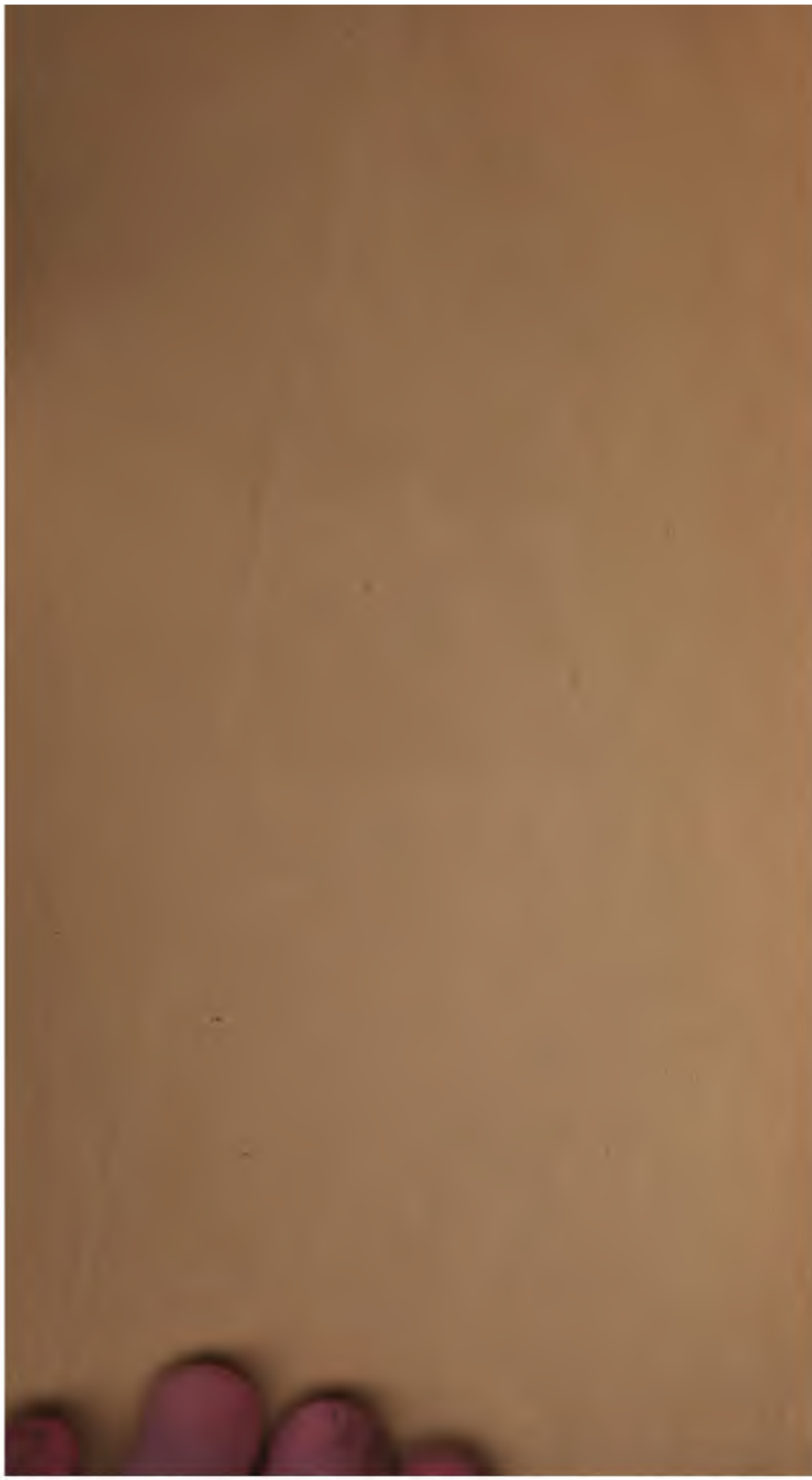

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MILTON'S

PARADISE LOST:

WITH COPIOUS NOTES,

EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL,

PARTLY SELECTED FROM THE VARIOUS COMMENTATORS,

AND PARTLY ORIGINAL:

ALSO

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

BY

JAMES PRENDEVILLE, B.A.

EDITOR OF LIVY, ETC.

LONDON:
SAMUEL HOLDSWORTH, AMEN CORNER,
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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD FRANCIS EGERTON,

&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

The prominent position which you hold in the literature and talent of the Country, would point you out as the scholar to whom I could, with the greatest propriety, dedicate this Edition of the great work of our great Poet. But, independently of your Lordship's personal eminence, the literary association of the name of Egerton with that of Milton, the *poet*—for it is one of the many signal honours of your old and noble line, that your ancestors, the Earls of Bridgewater, whose fortune, and whose zeal for literature

you inherit, were the most distinguished of his early friends and patrons—renders this Dedication almost my duty : and if the Work meet with your Lordship's approbation, I shall consider it equivalent to the praise of the multitude.

I have the honour,

My Lord,

To subscribe myself,

Your Lordship's

Respectful and obedient Servant,

J. PRENDEVILLE.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It is not necessary for me, in briefly and simply explaining the plan and object of this edition, to premise, with Bishop Newton, and other excellent critics on other authors, many remarks on the generally acknowledged advantage of good explanatory comments on celebrated works. Though all admire Paradise Lost as the greatest poem in our language, or of modern ages; while most of the eminent literati contend for its supremacy over any poem in any language, or age; though it is a work now more generally read and esteemed, than any other poetic work ever published; yet it is a fact to be regretted, that comparatively but a few fully understand it. This general ignorance results from the character of the poem, and of the commentaries upon it: such an abundance of profound erudition, and of all the embellishments of poetry, has been condensed in it, that even a sound scholar, if unaided, should expend in acquiring a correct knowledge of it the labour of years; and those good editions are so voluminous and expensive, that many who could afford to purchase them, would not undergo the labour of their perusal; and many who would undergo it, could not well afford to purchase them. The editions by Bishop Newton and the Rev. Dr. Todd are the best—indeed the only editions that can be considered as at all treating the subject with any approach to fulness.

Of Newton's edition of Milton's poetic works, 2 vols. large 4to. are occupied with Paradise Lost; and of Todd's, 4 vols. large 8vo.; prefatory matter included. But though Newton, independently of his own extensive learning, drew largely from the commentaries of his predecessors, and obtained liberal contributions from many of his learned contemporaries; and though Todd freely used Newton's edition—received many subsidiary comments from

other sources, and introduced with great industry much new matter, either as explanatory of the text, or by way of parallel illustration, from other authors, ancient and modern; still it appeared to me, that in very many important passages there was a void of useful elucidation, while in others there was a tedious superabundance; and on others, again, opinions were asserted which were palpably wrong. I conceived, then, long since, the idea of giving an edition of this poem, embodying, often the words, and sometimes the essence of whatever I could find practically instructive in *all* the previous editions, and commentaries, together with the subsidiary remarks that I have been compiling, during a careful examination of the book for many years; thus, by omitting what is really useless in these editions, and supplying what was necessary, furnishing to the learned and unlearned reader, in a single and a cheap volume, a complete and easily understood commentary. Even a judicious condensation of the copious, critical, and explanatory remarks of antecedent annotators would be an acceptable offering: but if I add to this explanations of many difficult passages overlooked, or misunderstood by my predecessors, and among these some of the most difficult, as to syntaxical structure; if I add explanations of many of his most idiomatic and classical phrases and expressions; and besides, give new illustrations from the best ancient authors, the offering of this edition must be more acceptable still. I shall beg leave to mention only one example of the new matter I have introduced. Milton's Catalogue of the Fallen Angels, Book I. is considered the most elaborately learned passage of the whole poem. Newton's explanations on it, which have been adopted by all succeeding commentators, are considered the best; but, however, they are few; chiefly derived from scriptural history, and utterly inadequate to the importance of the subject in its various applications. I consulted many other antiquarian authorities which could best elucidate the subject, especially the learned Selden's "Syntagmata De Diis Syriis," and Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, a work which is indispensable to every biblical scholar.

As I wished to consult not alone utility, but brevity, all through this commentary, I have often given the ***substance*** merely (faithfully however) of a note of a commentator, especially if a long one; and often when two or more commentators have given in

different words the same explanation of a passage, or have severally expounded several parts of a passage, I have fused all these together, so as to give, for the sake of perspicuity, a consecutive and even exposition of the whole, affixing to the note the initials of their names. Whenever I found the commentator's words brief and explicit enough, I have given them. Whenever there have been many conflicting opinions, I have given the main points, and compared them, so as to enable the reader to form his own judgment, while I express my own. I often, too, intersperse in the notes ascribed to others, remarks of my own, in order to render the explanation more complete. Without swelling out the work by giving many objections, I have so shaped the answers, as to let the reader know what these objections are, while they are fully refuted. The following are the initials of the principal authorities referred to in the Notes.

Ad.	Addison	Jort.	Jortin
B.	Bentley	Monb.	Lord Monboddo
Bo.	Bowle	N.	Newton
C.	Calmet	P.	Pearce
Cal.	Callender	R.	Richardson
D.	Dunster	St.	Stillingfleet
Gil.	Gillies	Th.	Thyer
Gr.	Greenwood	T.	Todd
H.	Hume	Up.	Upton
Heyl.	Heylin	Warb.	Warburton
John.	Johnson	Wart.	Warton

The notes to which no initial letter is affixed, I hold myself responsible for; of these many have been derived from various sources, and many are exclusively my own. Of my own notes it is enough for me to say, that they have been only given to rectify the misinterpretations, or supply the omissions of former commentators; or to explain *difficult* passages which these commentators did not explain. My own notes can be easily distinguished, for I speak in the first person, so that I alone am entitled to blame or praise for them. In unravelling the structure of many of Milton's sentences, I have often found it necessary to analyse them on classical principles, differently from those who judge of them according to the rules of English composition. The fact is, his style is peculiar to himself, embodying all the graces and peculiarities of the ancient tongues.

This Edition I have not designed as a full exposition of Paradise Lost, merely for the general reader; but I have had a higher object in view—to treat the book as a classical work (and it is in this view it ought chiefly to be examined)—on such a principle to expound it, and make it as familiar in the high schools and the colleges, as the works of Homer and Virgil. Some years ago I remarked in a note on the third Book of the first volume of my edition of Livy, when explaining some peculiarities of phrase and sentiment by quoting an illustrative passage from Milton, that the introduction of Paradise Lost, as a class book, would much promote the advancement of classical literature. This opinion, deliberately formed then, has been strengthened by my subsequent experience, and the judgment of the most judicious scholars I have known; and indeed this opinion seems now to be general.

One great cause of the distaste (not to enumerate many others) of boys at school, and even of students in the universities, towards classical literature is, that the classics exhibit to them structures of phrase, combinations of words, and their application; uses of metaphor, illustration, and comparison; turns of thought, and their manifold modes of allusion, so inconsistent with the common principles and rules of English composition, that they too often acquire a little knowledge of them mechanically, to pass examination, and for this purpose only. But if an English book, as a necessary subject of study, were introduced to them—a book that from their infancy they were taught to admire, even though they may not have read it, or having read it, may not have well understood it—a book that embraced all the peculiarities of the style and sentiment of the classics, and by softening down their old and rugged character, made them familiar and alluring, through the graces and the majesty of the most refined and the loftiest poetry;—if such a book were used as a class book, accompanied with an ample (though briefly expressed) commentary, I am persuaded that the cause of classical and polite literature would be much advanced.

It is not alone as a subsidium to classical instruction that this book is useful; it is preeminently useful for an easy, a pleasing, and complete acquisition of a knowledge of all the great elementary truths and facts of the Bible. When Milton

ventures on a comment, he follows the primitive, the most learned, and orthodox guides; he embraces and confines himself to the principles of Christianity, and these he enforces most convincingly. All his most eminent critics (no matter the complexion of their creed) declare that he is always perfectly orthodox—corrupt doctrine finds no sanction in his works. A learned German has assured me, that Paradise Lost is read in German families, not alone as the sublimest of all poems, but as one of the most religious of all books; and deservedly should it be so read in every family at home, for it is in truth a synopsis of all the elegances of ancient literature, and of the history and truths of the Bible. No poem was ever published from which the reader can, independently of pleasure, derive more solid, useful, and permanent instruction, and therefore more advantage. Besides the delight to be gained from his poetry, and the information to be gained from his learning, there are ulterior advantages to be gained from the pure fervour of his religion (and this religion thoroughly true), which far transcends the considerations of worldly pleasure or learning. The book regulates, while it warms devotion; and places religious faith on its safe, true, and simple basis.

Dissertations on Milton's taste, character, beauties, imperfections, &c. I have not thought it necessary to introduce. It is better the reader should form his own judgment of all this from an examination of the original passages and their explanations. I have also excluded an immense mass of quotations from obscure English and Italian authors, in which similitudes have been attempted to be shewn by men more ambitious of character for learning and research, than for useful and appropriate commentary; *i. e.* I have discarded what is called the treasures of the Gothic library, just because I have found them useless. Todd's edition is full of this curious though idle learning (yet he has some good original notes). All these references to such passages I have unscrupulously swept away. To no reader could they be instructive; and most readers they would tire and disgust. My wish is to fill, not to overload, the mind of the reader. It would require a great stretch of credulity to believe that there was even a remote coincidence between the original passages and most of the passages often quoted as parallel. It is doubtful

to me, if Milton, allowing that he read most of these productions, (including sonnets, madrigals, low comedies, romances, and fairy tales, &c.) ever thought of them, when composing Paradise Lost. I have confined myself to comparisons with passages of the greatest authors, which he is known to have constantly read and admired—Shakspeare, Spenser, Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso; and the most approved of the Greek and Latin authors; adding, of course, the scriptural writers. Whenever I found only a gleam of likeness, I have barely given a reference to the passage referred to: but when I find a coincidence in sentiment or style, I quote the original passage, not alone for the sake of elucidation, but for an exercise to the classical reader's mind and memory. I have observed the same rule, in a great degree, as to the scriptural authorities. Translations of the passages quoted from the classics I have also omitted, because to the learned reader they are unnecessary; and to the unclassical, delusive. Poetic translations (especially if in rhyme) of the ancient authors are never faithful; they are decorative paraphrases at best, if not mutilations carried on with great nicety of dissection. I have divided the text into paragraphs, for a more proper distinction of the several parts of the subject; and have marked the speeches by inverted commas—a plan which, though novel in the printing of this poem, I imagine the reader will find convenient. I have also occasionally used the dash (thus —) between members of a sentence, to mark apposition, and the absence of the copulative conjunction, especially when the ordinary punctuation would be insufficient to determine the necessary pause. In the first portion of the poem, I have marked many elisions and contractions, to serve the inexperienced reader as a guide during the remainder. The text is now pretty well established, (the punctuation of Milton's editions having been, in consequence of his blindness, very incorrect,) and I have generally followed that of Todd's edition, which is the best. There may be discovered some typographical mistakes in this edition, but they cannot be very important. I have noticed in the notes errors (chiefly of punctuation) in this text and others. I cannot claim a peculiar exemption from verbal errors—no work is free from them. In the Index I have contrived to blend the advantages of a historical and verbal index.

In the Memoir of his Life I have compressed whatever I could find of interest or advantage to the reader, in the numerous biographies of him, from the sketches by his nephew, to the elaborate "Life" by Symmons; and have endeavoured to combine, with the chief incidents of his life, a correct exposition of his views, principles, and feelings. For this purpose I have quoted many passages from his prose works, which, from the unstained and uncompromising honesty, and the unyielding independence of the man, are fair indications of the spirit that spurred and guided him. These quotations I have adopted from the best accredited translations, (for most of the passages are taken from his Latin prose works,) although these translations I think objectionable in point of style and fidelity. But there is one passage—his character and vindication of Cromwell, which is so very remarkable, not only as a vindication of the conduct and principles of the most extraordinary man of ancient or modern times,—a man who rose by the force of genius, and a dexterous application of subsidiary circumstances, by slow but unerring steps to the highest pitch of power, and used this power for the aggrandizement of his country —who found at the commencement of his career the empire distracted and feeble, and left it consolidated and powerful, (though some of his means were, I think, criminal;) but as a vindication of Milton himself, for cooperating with him, that I thought it right to give a new and more correct translation of it, preserving, as far as possible, the character and spirit of the original.

In the prefatory remarks on Paradise Lost, I have confined myself to generals, as I have given particular exemplifications of them abundantly in the Notes. In fine, I have taken pains to make this edition perfect for all classes of readers; and, by reducing it to one volume, to save them labour and expense. In consequence of my plan and object, the Notes are necessarily of a mixed and unequal character: some are intended for the young and unlearned reader, and some for scholars. The worth of this edition the public alone must determine—I at least have meant well.

JAMES PRENDEVILLE.

LONDON,
December 24, 1839.

ERRATUM.—B. vii. 251, for "darksome" read darkness.

THE LIFE OF MILTON.

CHAPTER I.

MILTON'S ANCESTRY—HIS BIRTH—EDUCATION.

MILTON descended from a long line of respectable ancestors, the Miltons of Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire, who possessed considerable property for many generations, till, the representative of the family having joined the unsuccessful party in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the estate was sequestered. However, John Milton, the poet's grandfather, who was ranger of the forest of Shotover near Halton, was a man of property, and sent his son John, the poet's father, to be educated at Christ Church, Oxford; where he espoused the doctrines of the Reformation: for this his father, who was a bigoted Roman Catholic, disinherited him. The student, not deterred by this act of paternal cruelty, zealously adhered to his principles, and on quitting College settled in London, where, by the advice and encouragement of some influential friends, he pursued the respectable and lucrative profession of scrivener, in Bread Street, at the sign of "The Spread Eagle," which was the armorial ensign of the family. (A scrivener in those days received money to place it out at interest; supplied those who wanted to raise money on security; and drew up the contract between the parties; thus rendering himself useful to, and receiving profit from both. At that time,

too, almost all persons engaged in any kind of mercantile pursuit had some distinguishing sign.) By his wife, Sarah Caston, a woman of great worth and reputation, and of a respectable family originally from Wales, he had two sons and a daughter; the eldest of whom was the poet, born on the 9th of December, 1608, between six and seven in the morning, at his father's house, and christened John on the 20th of the same month, as appears from the register of Allhallows, Bread Street. The poet's father was a man of blameless character, considerable acquirements, and talent. Of his attachment to literature, the Latin verses addressed to him by his son (see the epistle "Ad Patrem") with equal elegance and filial gratitude, are a signal proof. He was particularly distinguished for his musical abilities. He is said by Dr. Burney, in his History of Music, to have been "a voluminous composer, and equal in science, if not in genius, to the best musicians of his age." He acquired an independent fortune, and purchased a small estate at Horton, near Colnebrook in Buckinghamshire, on the borders of Middlesex, whither he retired in his old age.

The poet, from his earliest youth, discovered marks of uncommon genius, and love of literature. These his father diligently cherished. Having sent him to St. Paul's School, of which Mr. Gill was head master, (to whose son Milton has addressed some of his earlier poems,) he furnished him besides with the best masters in the different departments of instruction at home in the evening. One of these masters was Mr. Thomas Young, a Scotchman, afterwards chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburgh; and subsequently master, under Cromwell's usurpation, of Jesus College, Cambridge. He was one of the authors of Smectymnuus, and died at Stow-Market in Suffolk, of which he was vicar thirty years. On the 12th of February, 1624, Milton was admitted a pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross. Having carried a high literary reputation to college, he there increased it by his uncommon diligence, proficiency as a scholar, and some splendid compositions. Dr. Johnson, though parsimonious of his praise to scholars, especially poets, and

whose criticisms on Milton are impregnated with his characteristic acrimony against all whose political principles were not in unison with his own, especially against persons not friendly to Monarchy and the Established Church, acquiesces (and this acquiescence is high praise) in the opinion of Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, that Milton's Latin poetry, while at college, showed him to have been "the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance." Milton himself says, "This good hap I had from a careful education—to be inured and seasoned betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues; and thereto brought an ear that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling versifier." A short absence from college has occasioned much elaborate and useless controversy about the cause. Some say he was rusticated—some say he was *whipped* and rusticated—for some trifling violation of academical rules; while others maintain that he only quitted it in displeasure for a brief space. He himself, and the college records, are silent about the fact of his disgrace or punishment. It is a pure fiction. Indeed he distinctly calls it "a commodious lie," in his Apology for Smectymnuus. (See his own statement, next Chapter.) Though designed by his father for the Church, he entirely changed his views while at college. He says that the clerical obligation would too much coerce his freewill and conscience; that to subscribe to the Articles, "would be to subscribe *Slave*." He never obtained, and it seems did not labour to obtain, any College preferment. While at his father's seat at Horton, after he had finished his collegiate education, he composed his Arcades, Comus, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Lycidas, between the age of twenty-three and twenty-eight. These well-known poems, this is not the proper place to examine. Suffice it to say, that, had Milton written nothing else, their long and universally established reputation would have placed him in the first class of British poets. Comus and Arcades are masks, or dramatic performances written in a tragic style, but without regard to rules; which in those times were frequently exhibited at the mansions of the

nobility. The Arcades was performed at Harefield Place, near Horton, the seat of the Countess Dowager of Derby, by her grand-children. The Comus was performed on Michaelmas night, 1634, at Ludlow Castle, the seat of the Earl of Bridgewater, then Lord Deputy of Wales; his sons, Lord Brackly, and Mr. Thomas Egerton, acting the parts of the brothers, and his daughter, Lady Alice Egerton, that of the sister.

CHAPTER II.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY—HIS EARLY EDUCATION—TRAVELS—HIS APPEARANCE—HIS PROMISE OF SOME GREAT WORK — VINDICATION OF HIS CONDUCT AND PRINCIPLES.

MILTON has interspersed through his numerous prose works, touching and valuable, though brief, accounts of himself, partly with a view to satisfy the public curiosity, and partly with a view to silence busy calumny. These fragments of autobiography are written with a lofty, dignified, and steady self-confidence. As I am sure every reader would be best pleased to see such a man his own historian, I transcribe some of them. In his "Second Defence of the People of England," he thus commences the following narrative and vindication of himself.

"This it will be necessary for me to do on more accounts than one: first, that so many good and learned men among the neighbouring nations who read my works, may not be induced by calumnies to alter the favourable opinion which they have formed of me; but may be persuaded that I am not one who ever disgraced beauty of sentiment by deformity of conduct, or the maxims of a freeman by the actions of a slave; and that the whole tenour of my life has, by the grace of God, hitherto been unsullied by any enormity or crime: next, that those illustrious worthies, who are the objects of my praise, may know that nothing could afflict me with more shame, than that any vices of

mine should diminish the force, or lessen the value of my panegyric upon them: and lastly, that the people of England, whom fate, or my duty, or their own virtues, have incited me to defend, may be convinced from the purity of my life, that my defence, if it do not redound to their honour, can never be considered as their disgrace.

"I will now mention who and whence I am. I was born at London of an honourable family: my father was distinguished by the undeviating integrity of his life; my mother, by the esteem in which she was held, and the alms which she bestowed. My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that from twelve years of age I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed before midnight. This primarily led to my loss of sight: my eyes were naturally weak, and I was subject to frequent head-aches; which, however, could not chill the ardour of my curiosity, or retard the progress of my improvement. My father had me instructed daily in the grammar school, and by other masters at home: he then, after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge. Here I passed seven years in the usual course of instruction and study, with the approbation of the good, and without any stain upon my character, till I took the degree of Master of Arts. After this I retired of my own accord to my father's house, whither I was accompanied by the regrets of most of the fellows of the college, who showed me no common marks of friendship and esteem. On my father's estate, where he had determined to pass the remainder of his days, I enjoyed an interval of uninterrupted leisure, which I devoted entirely to the perusal of the Greek and Latin classics; though I occasionally visited the metropolis, either for the sake of purchasing books, or of learning something new in mathematics or in music, in which I at that time found a source of pleasure and amusement. In this manner I spent five years till my mother's death. I then became anxious to visit foreign parts, particularly Italy. My father gave me his permission; and I left home with one servant. On my departure,

the celebrated Henry Wotton, who had long been King James's ambassador at Venice, gave me a signal proof of his regard, in an elegant letter which he wrote, breathing not only the warmest friendship, but containing some maxims of conduct, which I found very useful in my travels. The noble Thomas Scudamore, King Charles's ambassador, to whom I carried letters of recommendation, received me most courteously at Paris. His lordship gave me a card of introduction to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the French Court, whose acquaintance I anxiously desired, and to whose house I was accompanied by some of his lordship's friends. A few days after, when I set out for Italy, he gave me letters to the English merchants on my route, that they might show me any civilities in their power.

"Taking ship at Nice, I arrived at Genoa; and afterwards visited Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. In the latter city, which I have always more particularly esteemed for the elegance of its dialect, its genius, and its taste, I stopped about two months; where I contracted an intimacy with many persons of rank and learning, and was a constant attendant at their literary parties; a practice which prevails there, and tends so much to the diffusion of knowledge, and the preservation of friendship. No time will ever abolish the agreeable recollections which I cherish of Jacob Gaddi, Carolo Dati, Frescobaldo, Cultellero, Bonomathai, Clementillo Francisco, and others. From Florence I went to Sienna; thence to Rome; when, after I had spent about two months in viewing the antiquities of that renowned city, where I experienced the most friendly attention from Lucas Holstein,* and other learned and ingenious men, I continued my route to Naples. There I was introduced, by a certain recluse with whom I travelled, to John Baptista Manso, marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the celebrated poet, incribed his book on "Friendship." During my stay he gave me singular proofs of his regard: he himself

* Holstenius was then keeper of the Vatican library, and had studied three years at Oxford. He introduced him to the distinguished Cardinal Barberini, who treated him with marked kindness.

conducted me round the city, and to the palace of the viceroy; and more than once paid me a visit at my lodgings. On my departure, he gravely apologised for not having shown me more civility, which he said he had been restrained from doing, because I had spoken with so little reserve on matters of religion. When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received, of the civil commotions in England, made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home. While I was on my way back to Rome, some merchants informed me that the English Jesuits had formed a plot against me, if I returned to Rome, because I had spoken too freely of religion: it was a rule which I laid down to myself in those places, never to be the first to begin any conversation on religion; but, if any questions were put to me concerning my faith, to declare it without any reserve or fear. I nevertheless returned to Rome. I took no steps to conceal either my person or my character; and for about the space of two months I again openly defended, as I had done before, the Reformed Religion, in the very metropolis of Popery. By the favour of God I got back to Florence, where I was received with as much affection as if I had returned to my native country. There I stopped as many months as I did before, except that I made an excursion of a few days to Lucca; and, crossing the Appennines, passed through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice. After I had spent a month in surveying the curiosities of this city, and had put on board a ship the books I had collected in Italy, I proceeded through Verona and Milan, and along the Leman Lake to Geneva. The mention of this city brings to my recollection the slandering More; and makes me again call the Deity to witness, that in all those places where vice meets with so little discouragement, and is practised with so little shame, I never once deviated from the paths of integrity and virtue; and perpetually reflected that, though my conduct might escape the notice of man, it would not elude the inspection of God. At Geneva I held daily conference with John Diodati, the learned professor of theology. Then pursuing my former route through

France, I returned to my native country, after an absence of one year and three months, at the time when Charles, having broken the peace, was renewing what is called the Episcopal war with the Scots; in which the royalists being routed in the first encounter, and the English being universally and justly disaffected, the necessity of his affairs at last obliged him to convene a parliament. As soon as I was able, I hired a spacious house in the city, for myself and my books; when I again with rapture renewed my literary pursuits, and where I calmly awaited the issue of the contest, which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence, and to the courage of the people. I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic: and as I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that if I ever wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the church, and to so many of my fellow-christians, in a crisis of so much danger. I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object."

In the Preface to the second book of his "Reason of Church Government," he states that he engaged in polemical and political controversy from a painful sense of duty; and expresses a hope of completing some great poetic work, at a future time, that would live, and raise the literary fame of his country:—

"I must say, therefore, that after I had for my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, (whom God recompense!) been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would allow, by different masters and teachers, at home and at school, it was found that whether aught was imposed on me by them that had the overlooking, or was betaken to of my own choice in English, or other tongue,—prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the private academies of

Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty, or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things which I had shifted, in scarcity of books and conveniences, to pack up among, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps; I began thus far to assert to them, and several of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting, which now grew daily upon me, that with labour and intense study, (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times, as that they should not willingly let it die. For which cause (and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins,) I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed, against the persuasions of Bembo—to fix all the industry and art I could unite, to the adorning of my native language; not to make verbal curiosities the end, (that were a toilsome vanity,) but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens, throughout this island, in the mother dialect: that what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old, did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being *a Christian*, might do for mine.

"Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting; whether that epic form, whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; and whether the rules of Aristotle are herein strictly to be kept, or nature is to be followed, which in them that show art, and use judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching of art; or lastly, what king or knight before the Conquest might be chosen, in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero. And, as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would

command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, or Belisarius's against the Goths, or Charlemagne's against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature, and the emboldening of art, aught may be trusted, and there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, for me to present the like offer in our ancient stories: or whether those dramatic compositions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation.

"The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama, in 'The Song of Solomon,' consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the 'Apocalypse' of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs, and harping symphonies; and this my opinion, the grave authority of Paræus, commenting that book, is sufficient to confirm; or if occasion shall lead to imitate those magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others are in the frame judicious,—in their matter, the chief end, faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the Law and Prophets, beyond all these, not in their divine arguments alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with my knowing reader, that for some years yet I may go in trust with him towards the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work that requires industrious and silent reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts; and as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, nor to be obtained from the invocation of Dame Memory, and her Syren daughters; but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases."

Again, he thus describes his own appearance and physical qualities; to which it may be necessary only to add, that in his youth

his hair was auburn, evenly divided at the top of his large full forehead, and hanging in clusters down to his back and shoulders; his face was large and oval, and all his features were individually perfect. He was considered very handsome; but his beauty, from the regularity of his features, their general harmony, and the modesty and composure of his demeanour and look, was thought to be of the feminine order; hence he was called in the university, the Lady of Christ Church: his eyes were blue. It is generally asserted that, in his description of Adam, b. iv. 300, he sketched off his own picture:—

> "His fair large front and eye sublime declared
> Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
> Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad."

"I do not believe that I was ever once noted for deformity by any one who ever saw me; but the praise of beauty I am not anxious to obtain. My stature certainly is not tall; but it rather approaches the middle than the diminutive. Yet what if it were diminutive, when so many men illustrious both in peace and war have been the same? And how can that be called diminutive, which is great enough for every virtuous achievement? Nor, though very thin, was I ever deficient in courage or strength; and I was wont constantly to exercise myself in the use of the sword, as long as it comported with my habit and my years. Armed with this weapon, as I usually was, I should have thought myself quite a match for any one, though much stronger than myself; and I felt perfectly secure against the assault of any open enemy. At this moment I have the same courage, the same strength, though not the same eyes; yet so little do they betray any external appearance of injury, that they look as unclouded and bright as the eyes of those who most distinctly see. In this instance alone, I am a dissembler against my will. My face, which is said to indicate a total privation of blood, is of a complexion entirely opposite to the pale and the cadaverous; so that though I am more than forty years old, there is scarcely any one to whom I do not appear ten years younger than I am; and the smoothness of my skin is not in the least affected by the wrinkles of age."

One of the calumnies often uttered against Milton by his controversial adversaries, no doubt for the purpose of galling him, as he was notoriously sensitive and fastidious on that subject, was that he was a man of licentious and immoral life. These accusations he often repels with lofty and fervent indignation; and it must be allowed that his notions of chastity were in the highest flights of Platonism, and his principles of religion and duty (no matter how they may have been misdirected) drawn from the rigid schools of primitive christianity.

He thus replies in his "*Defensio Secunda*," to the charge, that his blindness was a Divine visitation for his corrupt life and principles.

"I wish I could with equal facility refute what this barbarous opponent has said of my blindness; but I cannot do it, and I must submit to the affliction. It is not so wretched to be blind, as it is to be incapable of enduring blindness. But why should I not endure a misfortune which it behoves every man to endure if it should happen; which may in the common course of things happen to any man, and which has happened to the most distinguished and virtuous persons in history? What is related of the augur Teresias is well known; of whom Apollonius sang thus in his '*Argonautics*,'

'To men he dared the will Divine disclose,
Nor feared what Jove might in his wrath impose.
The gods assigned him age without decay,
But snatched the blessing of his sight away.'

But God himself is truth; in propagating which, as men display a greater integrity and zeal, they approach nearer to the similitude of God, and possess a greater portion of his love. The loss of sight, therefore, which this inspired sage, who was so eager in promoting knowledge among men, sustained, cannot be considered as a judicial punishment. And did not our Saviour himself declare that the poor man whom he had restored to sight had not been born blind either on account of his sins, or those of his progenitors? . . . And with respect to myself; though I have accurately examined my conduct and scrutinized my soul, I call thee, O God, the searcher of hearts, to witness, that I am not conscious, either in the earlier or the later periods of my life, of any enormity which might deservedly have marked me out as a fit

object for such a calamitous visitation. But since my enemies boast that this affliction is only a retribution for the transgressions of my pen, I again invoke the Almighty to witness that I never at any time wrote any thing which I did not think agreeable to truth, to justice, and to piety. This was my persuasion then, and I feel the same persuasion now. Thus therefore, when I was publicly solicited to write a reply to the defence of the royal cause, when I had to contend with the pressure of sickness, and with the apprehension soon of losing the sight of my remaining eye, (the right,) and when my medical attendants clearly announced, that if I did engage in this work it would be irreparably lost, their premonitions caused no hesitation, and inspired no dismay. I would not have listened to the voice even of Esculapius himself from the shrine of Epidaurus, in preference to the suggestions of the heavenly monitor within my breast. My resolution was unshaken, though the alternative was either the loss of my sight or the desertion of my duty; and I called to mind those two destinies which the oracle of Delphi announced to the son of Thetis: I considered that many had purchased a less good by a greater evil,—the meed of glory by the loss of life; but that I might procure great good by little suffering: that though blind, I may still discharge the most honourable duties, the performance of which, as it is something more durable than glory, ought to be an object of superior admiration and esteem. I resolved, therefore, to make the short interval of sight which was left me to enjoy, as beneficial as possible to the public interest. But, if the choice was necessary, I would, Sir, prefer my blindness to yours: yours is a cloud spread over the mind, which darkens both the light of reason and of conscience; mine keeps from my view only the coloured surfaces of things, while it leaves me at liberty to contemplate the beauty and stability of virtue and of truth. There is, as the Apostle hath remarked, a way to strength through weakness. Let me then be the most feeble creature alive, as long as that feebleness serves to invigorate the energies of my rational and immortal spirit; as long as in that darkness in which I am enveloped, the light of the Divine presence more clearly shines! And indeed in my blindness, I enjoy in no inconsiderable degree

the favour of the Deity; who regards me with more tenderness and compassion in proportion as I am able to behold nothing but himself. Alas for him, who insults, who maligns me, and merits public execration! for the Divine law not only shields me from injury, but almost renders me too sacred for attack; not indeed so much from the privation of my sight, as from the overshadowing of those heavenly wings which seem to have occasioned this darkness."

The latter part of this passage is a complete and sublime commentary on the celebrated opening of the *third* book of Paradise Lost. In his beautiful sonnet to Syriac Skinner he thus reverts to his blindness :—

> ——————"Yet I argue not
> Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
> Of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer
> Right onward.—What supports me, dost thou ask?
> The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
> In liberty's defence, my noble task,
> Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
> This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask
> Content, though blind, had I no better guide."

The following extracts are only portions of his own defence.

"I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself be a true *poem;* that is, a composition and pattern of the best and most honourable things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that is praiseworthy. These reasonings, together with a certain niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness, and self-esteem, either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envy call pride,) and lastly that modesty, whereof (though not in the title-page) yet here I may be excused to make some beseeming profession; all these uniting kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to saleable and unlawful prostitutions. Next (for hear me out now, readers) that I may tell ye whither my young feet wandered, I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of

knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence held in renown all over Christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he should defend at the expense of his best blood, or of his life if it so befel him, the honour and chastity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn; and if I found in the story afterwards any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judged it the same fault of the poet, as that which is attributed to Homer, to have written indecent things of the gods: only this my mind conceived, that every free and noble spirit, without that oath, ought to be a knight, and not need to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder, to stir him up to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So that even these books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by Divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of that virtue which abhors the society of bordelloes. Thus from the laureate fraternity of poets, riper years, and the ceaseless round of study and reading, led me to the shady walks of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato, and his equal Xenophon; where, if I should tell ye what I learned of chastity and love, I mean that which is *truly* so, whose charming cup is only *virtue*, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy; and how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her generation, knowledge and virtue."

CHAPTER III.

HIS SYSTEM OF EDUCATION—MARRIAGE—HIS FIRST PROSE WORKS—RECONCILIATION WITH HIS WIFE.

On his return to England in 1639, he was greatly afflicted to hear that his dear school-fellow and friend, a distinguished member of Trinity College, Oxford, and subsequently a physician

in Cheshire, Charles Diodati, to whom he had addressed some of his warmest epistles, was dead. It was in honour of his memory he now composed his "Epitaphium Damonis," a beautiful production. He first took lodgings in St. Bride's churchyard, and soon after took a large detached house, situated in a garden in Aldersgate-street. (There were many such houses in the old city before the great fire, generally occupied by the nobility and gentry.) Here he undertook the education of his nephews, the Phillipses, and by special favour the sons of a few select friends; not, however, for pecuniary remuneration, as is vulgarly supposed, for he was then in independent circumstances. The course of classical reading which he prescribed, and the long and laborious attention which he exacted, would startle many of the most diligent and deep-read classical scholars of these times. Besides the standard authors familiar to most readers, and which are those only read at the high academies and most colleges, his course comprehended in Latin, the four authors concerning husbandry—Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; Celsus; a great part of Pliny's Natural History; the architecture of Vitruvius; the stratagems of Frontinus; and the philosophical poets—Lucretius and Manilius. In Greek, Hesiod; Aratus' Phænomena and Dioseméia; Dionysius Afer de Situ Orbis; Oppian's Cynegetics and Halieutics; Quintus Calaber's Poems of the Trojan War, continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius's Argonautics: and in prose Plutarch's Placita Philosophorum, and "Of the Education of Children;" Xenophon's Cyropædia and Anabasis; Ælian's Tactics; and the Stratagems of Polyænus. "Nor," says his nephew and pupil, "did this application to the Greek and Latin languages, which, from his excellent judgment and easy way of teaching, were run over by his pupils to the age of sixteen, hinder the attaining to the Oriental languages—the Hebrew, the Chaldee, and the Syriac, so far as to go through the Pentateuch or five books of Moses; to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase; and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament; besides Italian and French, and a competent knowledge of mathematics and astronomy. The Sunday's exercise was, for the most part, to read a chapter in the Greek Testament, and to hear his exposition of

it; after this to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity, which he had collected from all the ablest divines ancient and modern." The spare diet of himself and pupils was in perfect keeping with their hard labour from an early hour till near midnight. Only now and then, once in three weeks or a month, he made a "*gaudy day*" (in which his pupils participated) with some gentlemen of his acquaintance, two of whom, Alphrey and Miller, of Gray's Inn, were the greatest beaux of the time. Be it remembered that these classical books were to be studied in *addition* to the long course of the *ordinary* classics; to the oriental languages; mathematics, and astronomy. Though he instructed these young gentlemen in these works partially, his great aim, as his eyes were weakened by continued study before, was to imbibe the essence of all their knowledge and beauties, for the pupils read the different passages in the various works alternately aloud. Thus while he communicated, he received instruction.

But he soon embarked in other and more arduous undertakings. In 1641 a loud clamour was raised against episcopacy: in this he joined with all his energies, and published his treatise "Of Reformation," to help the Dissenters, who, as he says in his "Defensio Secunda," were inferior to the Episcopalians in learning and eloquence. Five ministers wrote an answer, under the title "Smectymnuus," (a word formed from the first letters of their names,) to the "Humble Remonstrance in favour of Episcopacy" by the eloquent Bishop Hall, of Norwich. Of this the famous Archbishop Usher published a "Confutation." Milton having now found an antagonist worthy of his prowess, boldly entered the lists of controversy against him, and published his treatise of "Prelatical Episcopacy." This he soon followed up more at large by his "Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty," in two books: and Bishop Hall having published "A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," Milton replied in his "Animadversions." All these he published in one year, 1641. In 1642 he published the "Apology for Smectymnuus," in answer to a "*Confutation* of the *Animadversions*." Yet though clearly actuated by a conscientious feeling of duty in these works,

he avows his repugnance to the task, for he says in his introduction to the Second Book of his "Reason of Church Government," —"In this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial powers of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my *left* hand."

In 1643, during the Whitsuntide vacation, he made a journey to the country for a month, and on his return surprised his pupils and family by introducing his wife, Miss Mary Powell, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, near Shotover, in Oxfordshire, a justice of the peace, and a gentleman of considerable respectability in that county. In about a month she obtained his permission to visit her family, promising to return at Michaelmas. Meantime the hard reading went on as unceasingly as ever. Michaelmas came, but not his wife: he wrote to her, and received no answer: he wrote again and again with increasing anxiety; but got no answer. At last he despatched a messenger with a peremptory order for her return: this order was met with a determined and contemptuous refusal. Milton was never the man to brook indignity or ill-treatment. This was too grievous a wrong to be endured: he therefore resolved to repudiate her for ever, and emancipate himself. In order to justify this course, he published successively, in 1644 and 1645, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce;" "The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce;" "Tetrachordon," or exposition of the four chief passages in Scripture which treat of marriage or nullities of marriage,—Gen. i. 27, 28, (with ii. 18, 23, 24;) Deut. xxiv. 1, 2; Matt. v. 31, 32, (with xix. 3—11;) 1 Cor. vii. 10—16; and "Colasterion" (or the torture); being a bitter reply to some attacks made on his former treatises: the design of all which was to prove, that "indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, are greater reasons for divorce than adultery or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation." At this time he also published his letter on education to Mr. Samuel Hartlib; and his "Areopagitica," or speech for the liberty of

unlicensed printing, addressed to the parliament of England, which is considered one of the most eloquent, vigorous, and argumentative of all his prose compositions, and the most powerful vindication of the liberty of the press on record. This doctrine of divorce raised up for him some advocates, but more enemies. The Presbyterians took up the subject with particular animosity, and had him summoned before the Lords; but he was speedily discharged. This caused a lasting rupture between him and his former allies the Presbyterians. There have been various reasons alleged for Mrs. Milton's separation from her husband, and much inconclusive argument wasted on each of them; some maintain, that because Powell was a zealous royalist, (while Milton was a zealous, and more effective and distinguished, anti-royalist,) because the king's head-quarters were at that time near Oxford, and the royal cause had fairer prospects of success, the wife's family wishing to make a merit of breaking off all connexion with him, influenced her decision; others, that she herself sincerely disliked his religious and political principles, and therefore refused to cohabit with him: others, that being a joyous, lively girl, used to much society and freedom in her father's house, she could not endure the gloom and solitude of Milton's: others (from the discovery some years ago of documents, by which it appears that Milton's father lent Powell 500*l.*, a large sum at that time, for the poet's use, which Powell was then unable to pay) imagine, that without feeling any affection for Milton, she consented to the marriage to please her father, and quitted him to please herself. Perhaps the true cause may be found in a combination of all these—that the marriage was one of family interest on her side—that she felt dissatisfied with the seclusion of his mode of life (she is represented as then very young and heedless, whereas Milton, who from his youth was grave and reserved, was now thirty-five years old, and centered his chief happiness in his books), and that her dissatisfaction was embittered by political causes. But whatever may have been the cause, Milton pursued his resolution in earnest; for he commenced putting his doctrine into practice by paying his addresses to one of the daughters of Dr. Davis, a lady of great wit and beauty. This having come to the know-

ledge of the Powells, whose fortunes now began to sink with the declining cause of the king, and his own friends too, for many reasons, being opposed to his second marriage, it was determined by both parties to contrive a reconciliation; which was thus effected. He used to visit a relation of the name of Blackborough, residing in St. Martin's-le-Grand Lane. One day while sitting conversing with some particular friends who met him there as if by accident, his wife, to his amazement, unexpectedly fell on her knees at his feet, imploring his forgiveness with tears. He seemed bewildered, and at first showed signs of aversion; but her apparent penitence, her earnest entreaties, and the intercession of his friends, soon worked upon his generous nature, and procured a happy and lasting reconciliation. It has been said that he had this scene in view when he so pathetically described the reconciliation of Adam and Eve. (P. L. x. 910 and 940.) His pupils becoming now more numerous, and his father having before this (when the Royalists were masters of Reading, where he had been living with his younger son) come to reside with him, he took a larger house in Barbican. Soon after, the affairs of Powell being entirely ruined by the discomfiture of the royal party, he generously took him and his numerous family to reside with him, until, through his interest with the ascendant party, their affairs were improved. In 1646, July 29th, his eldest child, Anne, was born.

CHAPTER IV.

JUSTIFIES THE KING'S EXECUTION—APPOINTED FOREIGN SECRETARY OF STATE —HIS WORK "DEFENSIO POPULI"—HIS ACCOUNT OF HIS BLINDNESS—CROMWELL'S GOVERNMENT.

His father died 1647, in his house in Barbican, at an advanced age. This event afflicted him deeply. Milton was a man of the warmest affections, most sensitive of kindness, and most alive to the calls of gratitude and duty; and if ever there was a father

who had claims on a son for all these, Milton's father was that man, laying aside the ties of nature. His fortune, and his life, seemed to have been devoted to the advancement and comfort of his son; and the son in his works has often affectionately acknowledged the debt. After this time, the number of his pupils was reduced to a few, (I suppose because he had not cheerfulness or energy enough to pursue the usual course of instruction with many,) and he removed to a small house in High Holborn, which opened backwards into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he remained privately, still immersed in indefatigable study, till the king's trial and death. The Presbyterians, the old enemies of royalty, raised an outcry against the enormity and illegality of the act. This shook Milton's grief away for a time, and made him act again his old encounters; and he speedily published, in the beginning of 1649, his treatise on the "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," for the purpose, as he says, of "satisfying and composing the minds of the people," and to show that, as the king violated his duty, the act was justifiable, and that the Presbyterians, having first been the most inveterate enemies of the royal prerogative, and of Charles, were now inconsistent in denouncing an act which they encouraged. "The king's person is sacred," said the Presbyterians. "No," said Milton, "because he turned tyrant, and the people have judged it so." But, in his treatise "Of True Religion," written twenty-four years afterwards, he ascribes the downfal of the king and parliament to the intrigues of popery, in working on the fears and prejudices of the Dissenters, and representing the king and the archbishop as Papists in disguise. Cardinal Rosetti, who passed in England as a layman, under the title of Count Rosetti, was the chief agent in this plot. (See Dr. Bargrave's Memoirs.) Soon after this, he published in 1649 his "Observations on the Articles of Peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish Rebels," and "Animadversions on the Scotch Presbytery of Belfast." Bishop Newton makes a most liberal and excellent remark: "In these, and all his writings, whatever others of different parties may think, Milton thought himself an advocate for true liberty—for ecclesiastical liberty in his treatises against the bishops—for

domestic liberty in his treatises on divorce—and for civil liberty in his writings against the king, in defence of the parliament and people of England."

After this he retired to his studies, and had just finished four books of his intended History of England from the earliest accounts down to his own time, when he was unexpectedly invited, March 15th, 1649, by the Council of State, to be their Latin Secretary for foreign affairs, at a salary of 288*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*; an office which he held till the restoration. Whatever may have been Cromwell's faults, that of bending the neck of Britain to any foreign power, even in the slightest matter, was not one of them. He disdained to pay that tribute to the French king, which had been long paid him by every court in Europe—of recognising the French as the diplomatic language. He considered it an indignity and a degradation, to which a great and free nation, like Britain, ought not to submit; and he therefore took the noble resolution of neither making any written communications to foreign states, nor receiving any from them, but in the Latin language, which was common to them all.* Soon after Milton's appointment, a book, entitled "*Eikon Basilike*," or the Royal Image, was published, under the king's name, with a view to excite commiseration for his fate, and hatred against his executioners. Milton was ordered to prepare an answer, which he did, in Latin, under the title of "*Ikono-clastes*," or the image breaker, (published by order of the Privy Council,) the famous surname of many Greek emperors of the Christian Church, who, in their zeal against Romish idolatry and superstition, broke all images to pieces. Both books had great circulation, and created a great sensation. Charles II. being protected in Holland, employed, at a high price, (one hundred Jacobuses, 120*l.*) Salmasius, a Frenchman, esteemed one of the most consummate scholars of Europe, and the successor of the famous Scaliger as honorary professor

* There is a curious passage in Milton's History of England, (b. vi.) in which he strongly reprobates the adoption of the French language, and of French manners, by the aristocracy, as impious, and antinational, and a disgraceful affectation of gentility; and as tending to public corruption of morals.

of polite literature in the university of Leyden, to write a defence of the late king, his father. This book appeared towards the close of 1649, under the title "Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Carolum II." Milton, when the book first appeared in England, was directed by the Council of State to answer it. This task he cheerfully undertook, though he was then blind of one eye, (the left,) and his physicians told him, that if he were to undertake it he would lose the other, (see Sketches of Autobiography, chap. ii.) and, as he further says in his Introduction, he was so broken-down in health, that he was forced to break off from his labour every hour. This necessarily delayed the publication till the beginning of 1651. No sooner did the book, written in Latin, and entitled "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," or, Defence of the English People, circulate, than its renown blazed over Europe. All the eminent foreigners in London, including the ambassadors, visited him; complimentary letters, and other tokens of approbation, showered upon him from all parts of the continent; and so sensible was the administration at home of the value of the signal triumph he had achieved, and of his services to the popular cause, that they voted him 1000*l.*—a vast sum in those days. It was quickly translated on the continent, and was in the hands of every scholar. But the case was very different with Salmasius. Christina, Queen of Sweden, a great patroness of learning, had previously invited Salmasius, and several of the most distinguished scholars from all countries, to her court,—among them, the famous Isaac Vossius, who (as he says in a letter to Nicholas Heinsius) first showed her Milton's book. When she read it, Salmasius speedily sunk in her estimation, and that of the eminent literati about her, and quitted the court. The states of Holland publicly condemned Salmasius's book, and ordered it to be suppressed, while Milton's circulated rapidly through the country. On the other hand, Milton's book was publicly burned by the hangman in Paris and Toulouse, on account of its principles: but this only served to procure it more readers. It was everywhere read and admired for the great learning, genius, logical reasoning, and eloquence it showed. It is said that the mortification Salmasius felt at his utter overthrow

accelerated his death, which occurred at Spa in Germany, in 1653.

Having resided for some time in apartments apointed for him in Scotland-yard, where he lost an infant son, he removed for the benefit of the air to a house in Petty France, Westminster, which was next door to Lord Scudamore's, and looked into St. James's Park. There he remained eight years—from 1652 till he relinquished his office, within a few weeks of the king's restoration. Soon after his removal to this house, his first wife died in child-bed: and his condition requiring some care and attendance, he was induced to marry, after a proper interval, a second, Catherine, daughter of Captain Woodcock, of Hackney: she too died in child-bed within a year after their marriage, and her child, who was a daughter, died in a month after. His twenty-third sonnet, "On my Deceased Wife," is a touching tribute to her memory.

In 1652 he became totally blind. In addition to incessant study, the frequent head-aches to which he was subject from his youth, and his continual tampering with physic, are said to have contributed to this calamity. At the desire of his friend, Leonard Philaras, a celebrated Athenian, the duke of Parma's minister at Paris, he sent him an account of his case, for the purpose of being submitted to the eminent oculist, Dr. Thavenot, of Paris. The letter is dated September 28, 1654. "I think it is about ten years, more or less, since I began to perceive that my eye-sight grew weak and dim, and at the same time my spleen and bowels to be oppressed and troubled with flatus; and in the morning when I began to read, according to custom, my eyes grew painful immediately, and to refuse reading, but were refreshed after a moderate exercise of the body. A certain iris began to surround the candle if I looked at it; soon after which, on the left part of the left eye (for that was some years sooner clouded) a mist arose which hid every thing on that side; and, if I shut my right eye and looked forward, objects appeared smaller. My other eye also, for these last three years, failing by degrees, some months before all sight was abolished, things which I looked on seemed to swim to the right and left; certain inveterate vapours

seem to possess my forehead and temples, which, after food especially, quite to evening generally, urge and depress my eyes with a sleepy heaviness: so that I frequently recollect the condition of the prophet Phineus, in the *Argonautics*:

> —— "Him vapours dark enveloped,
> And the earth appeared to roll beneath him,
> Sinking in a lifeless trance."

Nor would I omit, that whilst there was as yet some remainder of sight, I no sooner lay down on my bed, and turned on my side, but a copious light dazzled out of my shut eyes; and as my sight diminished every day, colours gradually more obscure flashed out with vehemence. But now that the lucid is in a manner wholly extinct, a direct blackness, or else spotted, and as it were woven with ash-colour, is used to pour itself in. Nevertheless, the constant and settled darkness that is before me, as well by day as by night,-seems nearer to the whitish than the blackish; and the eye rolling itself a little seems to admit I know not what little smallness of light, as through a chink." It appears the case was hopeless, as there is no account of a satisfactory answer having been received. After his blindness, his eyes still appeared as clear and spotless as ever; and at first view, and at a little distance, it was not easy to know that he was blind.

In 1652 a book entitled "Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum adversus Paricidas Anglicanos" (or, The King's Blood crying to Heaven against the English Parricides,) was published at the Hague, and ascribed to Morus, a French minister, the son of a Scotchman, who was president of the college which the Protestants formerly had at Castres, in Languedoc. But it is now known that the true author was Peter du Moulin the Younger, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury. He transmitted his papers to Salmasius; and Salmasius sent them to Morus, who, though represented as a licentious, vain, and arrogant man, had the reputation of being one of the most eminent preachers of that age among the Protestants. Morus got them published. To this Milton replied (by authority) in his "Defensio Secunda," in 1654, in which he treats Morus, as the supposed author, with uncommon severity. Morus replied in his "Fides Publica,"

exculpating himself and disavowing the book. Milton replied in his "Authoris pro se Defensio." Morus ventured to rejoin in a "Supplementum." But Milton soon silenced him by his "Responsio." In the Philippics of Cicero, there is nothing so vehement or crushing as some of the invectives of Milton against Morus.

After this controversy was ended, he again, zealously as ever, entered on his literary pursuits, and proceeded with the completion of his History of England, and of a work which he had been compiling from his first manhood—a Theasaurus, or Lexicon of the Latin Language. Unfortunately, however, he was unable to complete either. The lexicon would have been a most invaluable acquisition: it appears that materials for three large volumes in folio were written of the lexicon, but so confused and imperfect were the papers left at his death, that they could not be fitted for the press. It has been stated that his nephew, Phillips, made a collection of these papers, from which he contributed largely to the Cambridge Dictionary, published in 1693. The minor duties of Milton's state office were generally performed by his secretaries, of whom Phillips was the most confidential. It is well known that the famous Andrew Marvel, the poet, was assistant-secretary to Milton in the year 1657, and subsequently, till the Restoration. But it is not generally known, that he was indebted for his introduction into public life to the patronage of Milton. There is a very interesting letter of Milton's, written in 1653, lately recovered from the State Paper Office, in which he pithily sketches his history and character, while recommending him to the council and to Cromwell. "A gentleman, whose name is Mr. Marvel; a man, both by report and the converse I have had with him, of singular desert for the state to make use of; who also offers himself if there be any employment for him. His father was the minister of Hull; and he hath spent four years abroad in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, to very good purpose, I believe, and the gaining of these four languages: besides, he is a scholar, and well read in the Latin and Greek authors; and no doubt of an approved conversation, for he comes now lately out of the house of the Lord Fairfax, who was

general, where he was entrusted to give some instruction in the languages to the lady his daughter." It must be remarked that Milton's chief duty was to prepare state documents, as Cromwell took care, by himself, and with the aid of his council, to control and direct the whole operation of government through all its departments. Milton's blindness (while it did not prevent him from discharging his duties promptly and effectively through his secretaries) was dexterously used by Cromwell as a state engine. Cromwell having, from reasons of state policy, artfully delayed signing the treaty with Sweden, replied to the incessant importunities of the ambassador, that Mr. Milton, on account of his blindness, was necessarily obliged to proceed slowly, and that he had not as yet put the articles into Latin—" upon which the ambassador was greatly surprised that things of such consequence should be entrusted to a blind man, for he must necessarily employ an amanuensis, and that amanuensis might divulge the secrets of the articles; and it was wonderful too that there should be only one man in England who could write Latin, and he a blind one!" Here it may be worth while to record one of many proofs of the extraordinary intelligence conveyed to the foreign office under the vigilant administration of Cromwell. The Dutch were about to send an ambassador to England to treat of peace; but the emissaries of the British government had the art to procure a copy of his instructions in Holland, which were delivered by Milton to his nephew, Phillips, to translate for the use of the council, before the plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England; and an answer was prepared for him before he arrived in London.

Milton's state letters will remain as authentic and valuable memorials of those times, to be admired equally by critics as by statesmen; and those, particularly, about the persecutions of the Protestants in Piedmont, who can read without emotion? The oppression suffered by the Protestants he felt keenly, and strained every effort to avert; and it must be allowed that Cromwell nobly supported him. (See Letters to the duke of Savoy, to the prince of Transylvania, to the king of Sweden, to the states of Holland, Switzerland, and Geneva, to the kings of France and Denmark.)

Cromwell was not a man to be befooled or intimidated when he once formed a resolution; and his memorable menace, that if these persecutions did not cease, British ships of war should display their flags at Civita Vecchia, and the sound of his cannon should be heard at the Vatican, extorted by fear those tolerations which reason, humanity, or religion would plead for in vain. It appears that while Foreign Secretary, he was allowed by Cromwell and the parliament "a weekly table for the entertainment of foreign ministers and persons of learning, such especially as came from Protestant states." After the death of Cromwell, Milton, being continued as Secretary under Richard Cromwell and the parliament, published, in 1659, "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes;" and "Considerations touching the likeliest Means of Removing Hirelings out of the Church;" both addressed to the Parliament. Finding that affairs were every day tending more and more to the subversion of the Commonwealth, and the restoration of the royal family, he published what he considered the last voice of expiring liberty, his "Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth, compared with the Dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation." But the republican fever had subsided, the nation was weary of commotion, and the monarchy was restored with the approbation of all the friends of tranquillity and order.

CHAPTER V.

THE RESTORATION—HIS PARDON—PARADISE LOST—HIS DISINTERESTEDNESS AND POVERTY—PARADISE REGAINED, SAMSON AGONISTES, ETC.—HIS DEATH—HIS HABITS.

After the Restoration, Milton found it necessary to conceal himself in the house of a friend, in Bartholomew Close, Smithfield, till the storm should blow over. On the 16th of June, 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that "the attorney-general proceed by indictment against John Milton, and that he

be sent for in custody of the serjeant-at-arms." But it having been subsequently reported that he had absconded, his "Defensio," and his "Iconoclastes" were burned, according to proclamation, by the common hangman, at the Old Bailey. There is a prevalent story, that, in order to blind the court party, he was reported to be dead, and that a mock funeral was got up for him; which when Charles heard, on his secure re-establishment in power, he laughed heartily, observing, equivocally, that he was glad the old scholar was put out of harm's way. He was eventually included in the general pardon, and then surrendered to the serjeant-at-arms. On the 15th of December, 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons that "Mr. Milton, now in custody of the serjeant-at-arms, be forthwith released, paying his fees." Here there is an extraordinary proof of Milton's independence, and resistance to what he considered wrong or oppression. An ordinary man would have been glad to escape from the fangs of danger at any sacrifice: not so Milton: he boldly complained of the excessive fees demanded by the serjeant; and the complaint was referred to the committee of privileges. "So courageous was he" (says Bishop Newton) "at all times in defence of liberty, against all encroachments of power; and though a prisoner, would yet be treated as a free-born Englishman." Long dissertations have been written to explain the causes of the extension of the royal prerogative of pardon to Milton. Mr. Secretary Morrice, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Sir Thomas Davenant, whose life he was instrumental in saving when taken prisoner in 1650, and two aldermen of York, are mentioned severally and collectively as his efficient intercessors. Andrew Marvel too formed a considerable party for him in the House of Commons. But I think that a single glance at the position of the court, and at Milton's life and condition at that time, will show that he was wafted on to safety on a confluence of reasons of state. He was not directly involved in the murder of the late king. He never took arms against him—never, by speech or writing, recommended his execution. He had no direct power in ordering the event, as a member of the legislature; he was not one of his judges; he therefore did not fairly come within the sweep

of the royal retaliation, life for life; and his delinquent books, the "*Defensio*" and "*Iconoclastes*," burned by the common hangman, were published *after* the king's death. Besides, it was the policy of Charles II. not to be needlessly sanguinary. Enough was already done for revenge, and the display of the royal power: something remained to be done by way of example, for conciliation, and an ostentation of the royal clemency. Who, then, could be a better object than the greatest ornament of his empire? a man as well known all over Europe as at home, for the vastness of his genius and his learning; whom scholars from all parts of the continent used to visit as a great intellectual curiosity. It appears from Aubrey's narrative, that "several foreigners of distinction had been induced to visit England, in order to see Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector, and John Milton." Moreover, Milton was most intimate with many of the loyal nobility, and with those members of the council already mentioned. It may be added also, that Charles was far from being an enemy to the Muses.

After his pardon he removed into Jewin Street, near Aldersgate-street, where, in his infirm state of health, requiring some better attention than that of servants, he married, by the advice of his friend Dr. Paget, Elizabeth Minshul, of a respectable family in Cheshire, and a relation of that gentleman. All his wives were virgins. He himself says, "I fully agree with them, who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of small fortune, honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow." Soon after, he was offered a continuance of his employment, as Latin Secretary, which he magnanimously declined. When his wife urged him to accept it, he replied, "Thou art in the right; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." Being now in want of some person to read and write for him, he took into his employment, at the recommendation of Dr. Paget, young Elwood, a Quaker, to whose instruction he paid great attention. Says Elwood, "Observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me that if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, I must

learn the foreign pronunciation; and he accordingly instructed me. He pronounced the *c* like the English *ch*, and *sc* like *sh*. And having a curious ear, he understood by my tone, when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly he would stop me, examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me." He soon left Jewin Street, and removed to a small house in the Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields, where he continued till his death. In 1661 he published his "Accidence commenced Grammar;" and a tract of Sir W. Raleigh, entitled "Aphorisms of State." When the plague broke out in London, in 1665, he removed to Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, where Elwood had obtained the situation of tutor, some time before, in the family of a wealthy Quaker. When Milton could no longer remunerate him for his services, after he had completed his education, Elwood provided a house for his benefactor. While there, he one day gave Elwood, who visited him constantly, a large MS. roll, telling him to return it safe, after he had read it. This was "Paradise Lost." On his returning the paper, Milton asked him what he thought of it; "which," says Elwood, "I modestly but freely told him: and after some discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said much of Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of "Paradise Found?"' He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards called upon him in London, Milton showed him his "Paradise Regained," and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." He remained in Chalfont about ten months, from June or July 1665, till the following March or April, when he returned to his house in London. On his return, his age and growing infirmities, so far from relaxing his literary exertions, seemed to have given them fresh impetus. There was, however, one melancholy check: his circumstances had become much straitened. He lost 2,000*l.* which he deposited in the Excise Office before the Restoration; his London property was destroyed by the great fire; and other property was frittered away through

the dishonesty of his agents, or his own want of worldly diligence and caution. He was unable, therefore, to employ a regular amanuensis, or reader, but was obliged to receive either the occasional and gratuitous services of some friend, or some inexperienced youth whose services he requited by instruction. There is an interesting passage in his own writings, which shows his disinterestedness, and gives a subsidiary explanation of his embarrassments. "These my services I gratuitously gave to religion, and my country; and I got no return but the preservation of my life. I have had, however, my reward, in an honest conscience, and an honest reputation. As to others, some have obtained honours, and some emoluments. But for me,—no one ever saw me playing the courtier myself, or soliciting any thing through my friends, or ever knew me with suppliant look hanging at the doors of the Council Chamber, or at the vestibules of ministers. I usually kept myself at home, living on my own means, which, though much diminished in the civil commotions, and by oppressive taxation, yet yielded me a scanty subsistence."

The following melancholy passage, from his letter to his German friend Heimbach, counsellor to the Elector of Brandenburgh, dated London, August 26th, 1666, will convey some idea of his condition at this time:—"Let me obtain from you this favour, that if you find any parts incorrectly written, and without stops, you will impute it to the boy who writes for me, who is utterly ignorant of Latin, and to whom I am forced, (wretchedly enough,) to repeat every single letter that I dictate." But independently of his increasing bodily afflictions and poverty, he was haunted with perpetual fears of assassination, ever since the Restoration; which kept him awake whole nights, and prevented him from appearing much abroad, unless when some trusty friend came and conducted him stealthily through byways, at dusk, to take a little necessary exercise. His formal pardon did not disarm the different parties to whose designs his honest and independent stand for the religious and political liberties of his country presented such a barrier, and whose rancour time or distance could not mitigate. Milton was well apprised of the inveterate hostility of these parties; and saw awful proofs of their determined

purposes. To this state of feeling he pathetically alludes, Paradise Lost, vii. 25, &c.

"Paradise Lost" was published in 1667. In 1670 he published his "History of Britain," especially the part now called England, which he was unable, from other pursuits, to bring down later than the Norman Conquest. In this year the "Paradise Regained," and "Samson Agonistes," were licensed, though not published till the following year. They were published by Starkey, of Fleet-street. There is a current belief that Milton always preferred "Paradise Regained" to "Paradise Lost:" I find, however, no authority for this story. His nephew, Phillips, only says, that when his literary friends would decry, in their admiration of "Paradise Lost," the other poem as "so much inferior, he could not hear with patience any such thing," Though "Paradise Regained" is vastly below the "Paradise Lost" in all the chief excellences of epic poetry—invention—sublimity of thought—beauty of imagery and diction, and variety of action, yet it is at least equal to it in sentiment, if not superior in argument. On sentiment and argument Milton rested much of his literary fame, and they were more congenial to his taste than scenes of turbulence and battle: for he says, "Paradise Lost," ix. 28, he was "not sedulous by nature to indite battles." He only meant then, not that "Paradise Lost" was *praised* too much, but that "Paradise Regained," though generally inferior, was *dispraised* too much; and the more this latter poem is examined, the more will Milton's judgment receive the reader's sanction. Thus many, familiar with the Iliad, decry the Odyssey, because they have not carefully read it. "Samson Agonistes," the last of his poetical pieces, is the only tragedy he finished, though he sketched out the plans of several; and it is said he was determined to the choice of this subject by the similiarity of his own circumstances to those of Samson—blind and helpless among his enemies. "It is written," says Newton, (and all the best critics agree in this opinion) "in the very spirit of the ancients; and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies which were exhibited on the Grecian stage when Grecian literature was in its glory." As this work was

never intended for the stage, (indeed, our stage and its arrangements are not suited to the representation of pieces constructed on the Grecian model,) it has not been divided into acts and scenes. Bishop Atterbury, however, had a serious intention of getting it divided into acts and scenes, (as he requested Pope to do it,) and getting it acted by the scholars of Westminster School. But his commitment to the Tower put an end to this design. It has since been brought on the stage, in the form of an oratorio, Handel's music having been adapted to it, as it has been to L'Allegro and Penseroso. In 1672, he published his "Artis Logicæ Plenior Institutio;" and the following year "A Treatise of True Religion," and "The Best Means to prevent the Growth of Popery," which had greatly increased through the negligence, if not the connivance, of the king, and the more open encouragement of his brother, the duke of York, afterwards James II. His principle of toleration is *agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures*; and he is for extending it to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to derive them from the sacred books, and from these only; thus professing to unite all classes of religious reformers against their *common foe—Popery*. In 1674 he published, in Latin, his "Familiar Epistles to Eminent Men," which contain curious and interesting opinions and characters of celebrated individuals, ancient and modern; and also some of his "Academical Exercises." A System of Divinity, which he had been long compiling, he did not live to publish. The MS. was discovered in 1823, in the old State Paper Office, Whitehall; and has been published by the present bishop of Winchester, to whose care it was entrusted by George IV. It appears this system has been drawn from the Bible solely; whereas another system, before mentioned, was drawn from able divines as well. His last literary work was a translation of the "Latin Declaration of the Poles in favour of John III.," their heroic sovereign. His "History of Muscovy" was not published till after his death.

The gout, with which he had been long and violently afflicted, now took a determined hold of his system, which began to sink rapidly. Such, however, was his firmness and cheerfulness of mind,

that, during the paroxysms of the disease, he would converse, play on the organ, or sing, with his wonted animation; till at last, his constitution being utterly exhausted, he expired (and so calm and insensible was his transition from life to death, that those in the room were not for some time aware of his dissolution) on Sunday, the 8th of November, 1674, within one month of his completing his sixty-sixth year. He was buried near his father, in the chancel of St. Giles's church, Cripplegate; his funeral being attended by a large concourse of the nobility and literati then in London. Some years after his death, his tomb-stone was removed for the purpose of facilitating certain improvements in that part of the church; particularly the erection of steps to the communion table, and was not replaced. It is therefore impossible now, as the entire space is evenly flagged over, to ascertain the exact position of his tomb. The sexton has told me that it lies under the clerk's desk, which is at the angle of the aisle and chancel, on the right as you go up: but from an examination of the place, I am disposed to believe that it is nearer the communion table. Opposite the desk and pulpit, there is affixed to one of the pillars a marble bust of him, executed by Bacon, at the expense of the late Mr. Whitbread, in 1793. It represents him in his old age, much wasted, but calm and contemplative; and is considered an admirable likeness.

Dr. Wright, an old clergyman in Dorsetshire, who visited him some time before his death, says,—"I found him in a small house, which had, I think, but one room on a floor; in that, up one pair of stairs, which was hung with a rusty green, I saw John Milton, sitting in an elbow chair, with black clothes, and neat enough; pale, but not cadaverous; his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk stones. Among other discourse, he expressed himself to this purpose, that were he free from the pain of the gout, his blindness would be tolerable." In his mode of living he was an example of sobriety and temperance, being very sparing in the use of wine, or strong liquors. In his diet, too, he was very abstemious, though choice in the quality; "eating and drinking," according to the distinction of the philosopher, "that he might live, and not living that he might eat and drink." His

gout, therefore, if not brought on by his studious and sedentary life, must have been hereditary. In his youth he generally sat up at his studies till midnight; but in after life, finding this custom injurious to his eyes and health, he changed his habits, and went to bed and rose early. In the Introduction of his "Apology for Smectymnuus," he gives the following account of himself:—"Those morning haunts are where they ought to be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring; in winter, often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour or to devotion; in summer, as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full freight; then, with useful and generous labours, preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and active obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty." At his first rising, in after life, he usually had a portion of the Hebrew Bible read to him, and then spent an hour or two in contemplation, and breakfasted; then studied till twelve; after this, took some exercise, and then dined, (generally in his kitchen, like most of the Londoners of moderate circumstances in his time;) and after dinner played on the organ, and either sang himself, or desired his wife (who, he said, had a good voice, but no ear,) or one of his daughters to sing; then he went up to study again till six, when his friends came to visit him, till eight; then he went down to supper, which was usually olives, or some light thing; and after supper he smoked his pipe; drank a glass of water; and went to bed. In summer he would sometimes sit at the door of his house, and there receive his visitors. His youngest daughter, who was his favourite, and for a long time his principal amanuensis, used to say that "he was delightful company; the life of the conversation, not only on account of his flow of subject, but of his unaffected cheerfulness and civility." Isaac Vossius, in a letter to N. Heinsius, 1651, on the authority of his uncle, Francis Tunius, the writer of "De Pictura Veterum," describes him as "courteous, affable, and endowed with many virtues;" and Heinsius, in a letter to Gronovius, mentions this as his general character.

CHAPTER VI.

HIS WILL — FAMILY — LITERARY PARTIALITIES — HIS CHARACTER OF CROMWELL.

FROM his noncupative will (a will not taken down in writing and signed by the testator, but orally delivered before witnesses), lately discovered, some circumstances connected with his domestic affairs, not generally known, have been brought to light. A copy of it was lodged in the Prerogative Court, soon after his death, by his brother, the chief witness, and ran thus:—"The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no part of it. But my meaning is, that they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them; they having been very undutiful to me. All the residue of my estate I leave to the disposal of Elizabeth, my loving wife." The portion, it seems, was 1000*l.* From his brother's testimony, the above declaration was made on or about the 20th of July, 1674. The evidence of his female servant, (Fisher,) in corroboration, went to prove, that on several occasions he declared at dinner, a few months before his death, to his wife, in her hearing, that as she made so much of him when alive, by getting nice things for him, and showing him various other attentions, he would leave her all after his death, as he had already provided for his children, who showed him but little gratitude. The evidence of a former servant (for it seems he kept only one servant—a female) went to show, that his daughter, Mary, expressed to her a wish to hear of his death, and advised her to cheat him in marketing; and that he often complained that his daughters, who did not live with him for five or six years before his death, stole and sold his best books. It

appears also, from the evidence in the case, that Powell, though in his life-time extravagant, left at his death a competent fortune, and ordered by his will the 1000*l.* to be paid to Milton's children. Milton's will was contested by his daughters, and was pronounced invalid by the judge, Sir Lionel Jenkins, on three grounds—1st, there was no *rogatio testium*, or asking of the witness to note the words spoken at the time by the testator; 2d, they were not the same words sworn to by the several witnesses, and uttered by him at the same time; 3d, they were not spoken in his last illness.

His sister married Mr. Phillips, who rose to the office of Secondary in the Crown Office in Chancery: after his death, she married Mr. Agar, who succeeded him: her son was Milton's pupil, and for a long time secretary. His brother was made a judge in the time of James II. (having, it is said, become a papist,) but retired, and died at Ipswich, leaving two daughters, and a son who succeeded to the offices filled by his aunt's husbands. Milton's daughters, who were taught the trade of embroidery in gold and silver, by which they earned their bread, could read many ancient languages, though they did not understand them. This is not surprising; for it was in accordance with the domestic strictness of those times. His youngest daughter, Deborah, his amanuensis "for Paradise Lost," was subsequently married to a master weaver, Mr. Clarke, in Spitalfields, and is represented as an intellectual woman. Her youngest daughter, who was married to a man named Foster, a weaver, in Spitalfields, kept a little chandler's shop in Cock Lane, near Shoreditch Church. Her condition attracted public sympathy; the Queen, Addison, and others, presented her with purses of gold; and, in 1750, the Mask of Comus was acted for her by way of benefit, which brought her 130*l.*; yet so simple and secluded was her mode of life, that she did not know the meaning of a *benefit*. She used to speak of her grandfather with a kind of reverential awe. They all thought him inspired. Though his descendants were numerous, the race is supposed to be now extinct.

Milton's reading embraced,—for his industry was as indefatigable

as his genius was boundless,—the whole range of ancient and modern learning; but, in the maturity of his age and intellect, he became fastidious in the subjects of his study. He then began to confine himself, as appears from many passages in his prose works, to an intense meditation of the standard writers, when he contemplated that work which he triumphantly anticipated his "country would not willingly let die." Of all these, ancient and modern, he was a complete master. Those who had best opportunities of knowing him tell us, that there were certain authors among them who were his peculiar favourites. The Hebrew Bible was the subject of his daily study. Homer, Euripides, Plato, Xenophon, and Demosthenes, were his favourites among the Greeks. Among the Latins, Ovid and Sallust. Among the English, Spenser, (whom he used to call his master,) Shakspeare, and Cowley. Among the Italians, Tasso and Dante. It appears he set but little value on the French writers. Some of these partialities may appear to many men strange; but they should, I think, consider the cast and structure of Milton's mind. There runs through Euripides a high and continued tone of moral sentiment, which was congenial to Milton's taste, and which was more than a counterbalance to the daring sublimities of Æschylus. The one was a steady guide; the other may present dangerous allurements: and he did not want the example of sublimity; for he possessed within him, in the most eminent degree, the elements of the highest sublimity. The fancy and versality of Ovid, together with the vast variety of subjects he descants on, could furnish the mind of Milton with more intellectual food, than the judicious imitations, or the methodical evenness of Virgil. And Sallust, (whom Tacitus copies, both imitating Thucydides,) from his concentration of thought, his purity and vigour of style, was more to his purpose, than the poetic imagery and declamatory diffuseness of Livy. Of Cicero's works, (except the philosophical,) he seems to have been no high admirer. Cicero, like most of the Latin authors, borrowed much from the Greeks; and Milton, who knew the originals thoroughly, preferred to follow him whenever he drew from the primitive source. Hence his speeches, often cast in the mould of Demosthenes, have little of the verbose swell of

Cicero. Dryden was a constant visitor of his; yet he spoke of Dryden as a mere rhymer. But it must be recollected, that Dryden had not then reached the meridian of his fame, or intellectual vigour.

It has been often remarked, that his occasional vituperations in his prose essays, are not very consonant with his general character of a sedate, tolerant, and composed reasoner. The following passage will be enough to show, that he sometimes thought it necessary, in the fiery warfare he was engaged in, to hurl fiery bolts against his adversaries: for thus he speaks in his "Apology for Smectymnuus:"—"Some also were endued with a staid moderation, and soundness of argument, to teach and convince the rational and sober-minded; yet not therefore is that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching, for in times of opposition, when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reformed, this cool impassioned mildness of positive wisdom is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of false and carnal doctors; then (that I may have leave to soar, as the poets use) *Zeal*, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond, ascends his fiery chariot drawn by two blazing meteors, figured like beasts, but of a higher breed than any the zodiac yields, resembling two of those four, whom Ezekiel and St. John saw; the one visaged like a lion, to express power, high authority, and indignation; the other of countenance like a man, to cast derision and scorn upon perverse and fraudulent seducers: with these the invincible warrior *Zeal*, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates, and such as are insolent to maintain *traditions*, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels."

It is vulgarly imagined, that his republicanism tended to inculcate a system of general equality. Nothing can be more erroneous. He has left living records in his writings, that he contemplated no such absurdity. No; he only wished for constitutional freedom, such as we now enjoy; and had he lived in these times, he would have been a bold defender of our modern and limited monarchy, if not of our now more tolerant Church. He opposed the hierarchy and monarchy of his time, because he

conceived both hostile to civil and religious liberty. It was against their *abuse* of power he contended; and it cannot be denied that there were abuses. If he advocated the abolition of those institutions, it was because he did not imagine they could be brought under popular control through the independence of parliament. However, hear himself. At the opening of his "Areopagitica,' he says, "When complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, there is the utmost bound of civil liberty that wise men look for." There is nothing extravagant in this—Whig and Tory say the same. This liberty we now enjoy; but his contemporaries did not. So he also says, in "Paradise Lost"—

"—— for *orders and degrees jar not*
With liberty, but well consist."——

Indeed, the subject and scope of "Paradise Lost" present a moral, that revolt against a *just* monarch is an act of high guilt, and that nothing but high misdemeanour on the part of the sovereign ruler could warrant it.

No man ever showed a more fervid patriotism than he does. Whenever he speaks of the regeneration of his country, he becomes enthusiastic and poetic in the highest degree. One example is enough. He thus alludes to the regeneration of England, in his "Areopagitica:"—"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

It has been asked, and often, why did Milton, the REPUBLICAN, so closely unite himself with the *usurper*, and the *autocrat*, Cromwell? Milton justifies himself in the following passage, near the end of his "Defensio Secunda." It is one of the most remarkable in all his prose works, or even in all English history. The picture of such a man, drawn by such a master, is indeed a

valuable curiosity. I may observe, that, to preserve the style and character of the Latin original, I found it necessary to give a new translation. The translation by the Rev. Dr. Fellowes is considered the best; but it is full of omissions and errors, and is rather a paraphrase than a translation. It gives the English reader no idea of the terseness and vigour of Milton's style. I have adhered closely to the original, and endeavoured to convey its spirit. I may add, that Milton's literary character suffers injury from the loose and inaccurate translations we have of these great prose works, which in his life-time raised him to the highest pitch of fame at home and abroad.

"Oliver Cromwell sprung from a noble and illustrious family. The name was formerly famous under the monarchy in the good administration of government, and still more famous in the restoration, or establishment, then for the first time, of true religion among us.* He grew up quietly at home to maturity and vigour of manhood, which he spent in privacy; remarked for nothing more, than for his rigid observance of pure religion, and his integrity of life: and he silently cherished in his breast a confident reliance on the Deity, and a greatness of soul, to meet the most critical emergencies. Elected by the suffrages of his native borough, he obtained the senatorian office, in the last parliament convoked by the king. There he soon became eminent for the surpassing justness of his opinions, and firmness of his counsels. When the appeal was made to arms, he offers his services, and is appointed to a troop of horse. Then, having obtained a great accession to his forces by a concourse of the good flocking from all quarters to his standard, he surpassed in a short time almost the greatest generals by the magnitude of his operations, and the rapidity of his execution. Nor was this surprising; for he was a soldier thoroughly disciplined in a knowledge of himself; and had previously extinguished, or held in subjection, whatever internal enemies he may have had—vain hopes—fears—desires. First, the commander of himself—of himself the conqueror, he had learned over himself to obtain the most signal triumph: therefore, on the

* He alludes chiefly to the celebrated Cromwell, earl of Essex, (the ancestor of the Protector,) in the reign of Henry VIII.

very day he first appeared in the camp, he grew a veteran, consummately skilled in all the science of war. It is impossible for me, adequately with the dignity of the subject, to detail, within the limits of this discourse, the many cities that he took, the battles—even the great ones, that he won. Never defeated or discomfited, he swept over the whole surface of Britain in one career of continued victories. These require the great work of a perfect history—a new field, as it were, of elocution; and a scope of narrative coextensive with the deeds. This alone is sufficient proof of his singular and almost godlike merit—that there was active within him such vigour, whether of soul and genius, or of discipline moulded not alone to the rules of warfare, but to the rules and holiness of Christianity, that he attracted from all quarters to his camp, as to the best school, not merely of military science, but of religion and of piety, the good and the brave; or, mainly by his example, made his followers such; and that during the whole war, and sometimes during the periods of intervening peace, under all the vicissitudes of public opinion and events—under many oppositions, he kept, and still keeps them to their duty—not by largesses and military indulgence—but by his sole authority and his mere pay. Greater praise than this is not bestowed on Cyrus, Epaminondas, or any of the greatest generals of antiquity. Hence no other general, in a shorter time, collected an army more numerous and better equipped than his—an army obedient to his word in all things—beloved and cherished by their fellow-citizens; formidable indeed to the enemy in arms; but entitled to the admiration of those who wished for peace, in whose lands and under whose roofs they lived without oppression or harm; so that when the people reflected on the outrage, the drunkenness, the impiety, and the debauchery of the Royalists, they, in their delight at their altered condition, looked on them not as enemies, but as friends—a safeguard to the good—a terror to the bad, and the promoters of all piety and virtue.

"Nor is it right to omit thee, Fairfax, in whom nature, and the bounty of Heaven, have united with the greatest bravery, the greatest moderation, and sanctity of life. Justly and deservedly indeed ought you be summoned to receive your meed of praise,

though you have as far as possible now kept aloof in your retirement, like the great Scipio Africanus at Liternum. Nor was it the external enemy alone you subdued; but you subdued ambition, and that which subdues the greatest of men—the love of glory. And now you enjoy the fruits of your virtues and illustrious deeds in your charming and glorious ease, which is the end of all human toils and actions, even of the greatest—such ease as that, which when the heroes of antiquity enjoyed, after a career of war and glory not greater than yours, the poets, who endeavoured to extol them, despairing of adequately describing it, feigned that they were received into heaven, and reclined at the banquets of the gods. But, whether it be your state of health, which I principally believe, or any other cause, that induced you to retire; of this am I entirely persuaded, that nothing could tear you from the service of your country, had you not seen what a powerful protector of liberty—what a firm and faithful pillar and bulwark—of the state of England, you were leaving behind in your successor!

"For while you, O Cromwell, are preserved among us, he shows but little confidence in the Deity, who fears for the safety of England; when he sees you so evidently the object of the Divine favour and assistance. But there was another field of the war in which you were to act the champion alone. In short, I shall, if possible, detail your most memorable achievements, with the same rapidity that you performed them. All Ireland being lost, except one city, you conveyed your army across; and quickly in a single battle crushed the Irish forces. There you were day by day engaged in the completion of your labours, when you are suddenly recalled to the war in Scotland. Thence you proceed with energies untired against the Scotch, then making an irruption into England, with the monarch at their head; and in about a year you completely subdued, and added that kingdom to the dominion of England; what for 800 years our monarchs were unable to effect. The remainder of their forces—powerful and well equipped, who in a fit of desperation had made a sudden incursion into England—then almost naked of garrisons, and had proceeded as far as Worcester, you overtook by forced marches, and in a single

battle annihilated, making almost the entire nobility of the nation captive. Thence there followed profound peace at home. Then—yet not then for the first time—did we find you not less powerful in council, than in the arts of war. Day by day it was your occupation in the senate, to provide that the faith plighted with the enemy be maintained, or that measures beneficial to the public weal be maturely decided on. But when you saw delays artfully spun out, and every member intent more on his own than on the public interest, (the people complaining of baffled hopes, and of being circumvented by the power of a few,) then what they themselves, though often advised, would not do—you put an end to their domination. A new parliament is summoned, the elective franchise being granted to those only who ought to enjoy it. The members meet. They do nothing. After having wearied themselves with mutual dissensions and recriminations; and finding, most of them, that they were inadequate and unfit for the discharge of such high functions, they dissolve themselves. Then, O Cromwell! we are left abandoned—you *alone* remain—on you *alone* devolves the chief administration of affairs—in you *alone* it centres. To your insuperable virtue we all yield—all of us without one dissentient voice, except the man who seeks for honours which he is unequal to sustain; or grudges the honours conferred upon the more worthy; or does not know that in human society nothing is more grateful to God, or more consonant with reason—nothing more just or useful in a state, than that the most meritorious should wield the sovereign powers. Such a man, O Cromwell! all acknowledge you to be; such the services you have performed, as the greatest and most glorious of our citizens—the leader of our public councils—the general of our bravest armies—the father of our country! Thus are you hailed by the spontaneous voice of all the good, and from the very soul. Other titles* worthy of your deeds, you neither recognise nor tolerate; and those proud ones, however great in the opinion of the vulgar, you deservedly reject. For what is a

* He alludes to his rejection of the title of *King*, which, a few years before this, it was contemplated by some of his council to offer him. He was content with that of *Protector*.

title, but a certain definite measure of dignity? Your achievements surpass the bounds not only of our admiration, but of our titles; and, like the points of pyramids that hide themselves in heaven, rise above the popular puff of *titles*. But since, though unworthy, it is yet expedient, that the highest merits should be defined and determined by some human dignity, you, by assuming a title most closely resembling that of *father of your country*, felt and endured, not that you were exalted, but were descending from your elevation, and sinking to the level of ordinary men, for the public good—spurning the appellation of King with a majesty far greater than that of king—and deservedly spurning it: for if you, who are become so glorious by your deeds, were captivated by a name, that as a private man you led beneath the yoke and reduced to nothing, you would be doing the same as if after you vanquished some idolatrous nation by the help of the true God, you worshipped the gods you conquered. Success! then, O Cromwell, in that greatness of soul; for it well becomes thee: you, the liberator of your country—the founder—the guardian, and preserver too of its liberty, can sustain no other character more dignified or august—you who have surpassed by your deeds not only the achievements of our kings, but the fables of our heroes.

"Consider again and again, how dear a pledge, and from how dear a parent, you hold deposited—liberty commended and entrusted by your country to your care. That which she lately expected from the choicest spirits of all the nation, she now expects from you alone—through you alone hopes to obtain. Revere such high expectations—the main hope which your country entertains of you. Revere the looks and wounds of so many gallant heroes, who under your command combated so valiantly for freedom. Revere the shades of those who perished in the conflict. Revere too the opinions and conversations of foreign nations about us—what great results they promise to themselves from our liberty so bravely acquired, and from our commonwealth so gloriously founded; which, if it perish abortively so soon, will reflect matchless disgrace and shame upon this nation. Last of all—revere yourself; and suffer not that liberty, for the attainment

of which you endured so many hardships and encountered so many perils, now that you have obtained it, to be violated by yourself, or in any part be impaired by others. You indeed, without our freedom, cannot yourself be free: for it is so ordained by Nature, that he who destroys the liberty of others, shall first lose his own; and feel that he himself is the first slave of all—and justly so. But if the very patron, and the guardian deity as it were of liberty—the man, than whom none was deemed more eminent for justice—none for sanctity—none a better man, should invade that liberty which he himself asserted; such an act will necessarily be a ruinous and deadly blow, not only to himself, but to the whole interest of virtue and of piety: honour itself—virtue itself, will appear to have vanished: there will in future be but little faith reposed in religion—little public character; than which no wound more grievous, ever since that primæval one, can be inflicted on mankind. You have undertaken a most onerous duty, which will search you to the quick—will scrutinize you thoroughly and intimately, and show what disposition—what vigour—what stability there is in you: whether in truth there lives within you that patriotism—that good faith—that justice, and moderation of soul, for which we believe that you have been elevated before all others, through the direction of the Deity, to the highest pitch of dignity. To rule with judgment three puissant nations—to lead their people from vicious institutions to a better state of morality and discipline than before existed—to make the anxious mind and thoughts penetrate the remotest quarters—to watch—to foresee—to decline no labour—to spurn every blandishment of pleasure—to shun the pomp of wealth and power;—these are those arduous labours, in comparison with which war is but sport: these will winnow and sift you: these require a man supported by the Divine assistance—a man advised, warned, and instructed, almost by a conference with the Deity.

"All this and more, I doubt not, you often reflect on within yourself, and revolve in your mind; so that you may be best enabled to accomplish all these mighty objects, and render our liberty secure and enlarged; which, in my judgment, you can

in no other way better effect, than by admitting, as you do, as the chief partners of your counsels, those whom you found the companions of your toils and your dangers—men, in truth, of the greatest moderation, integrity, and courage; whom the sight of so much death and slaughter before their eyes tutored not to cruelty and hardness of soul; but to justice, and a reverence for the Divinity, and a sympathy for the lot of man; and to a more vigorous preservation of liberty, in proportion as they exposed their lives to greater perils on its account. These are men not sprung from the kennel of the rabble, or of strangers—no promiscuous throng; but citizens, most of them of the better rank; of noble, or of respectable birth; of ample or of moderate fortune."*

* Fleetwood, Lambert, Overton, Hawley, Sydney, Lawrence, Whitelock, &c., on each of whom he pronounces an appropriate eulogy.

REMARKS

ON

PARADISE LOST.

ORIGIN OF THE POEM—HIS TIME AND HABITS OF COMPOSITION—PUBLICATION OF THE POEM.—CHIEF EDITIONS—HIS IMITATIONS—EXTRACTS FROM ADDISON'S CRITICISM—HIS VERSIFICATION.

THERE is a general and natural curiosity to know every circumstance connected with the commencement, and completion, of *Paradise Lost*. It would be easy to amuse the reader with many attractive conjectures of various commentators: however, the plain truth is, that we only know it was completed in 1665, when Milton fled from the great plague of London to Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, and showed the finished MS. to his former secretary, Elwood. Of the time of its commencement there is no conclusive evidence; but it is generally believed that it was begun at the close of the Salmasian controversy, 1651 or 1652, when he had acquired such matchless celebrity all over Europe, and was allowed assistant secretaries by the council of state to lighten the burdens of his office. He had long promised some great poetical work, which would, as he intimates, (see the sketches of his autobiography,) secure the approbation and raise the literary renown of his country. He had, no doubt, been preparing the materials even during the twenty years he was so hotly engaged in polemical and political controversy; and most probably only began to reduce them to order some three or four years before he brought the work to such immortal completion. From one of his letters to Deodati, it appears that after he had arranged his plan, his execution in all his works was brisk, vigorous, methodical, and untiring—never losing sight of his purpose—

never distracted by illness or worldly care. It is also certain, from a great body of MSS. found after his death, and the evidence of his nephew and constant associate, Phillips, that he at first only meditated a tragedy on the Grecian model, the opening of which was to be Satan's address to the sun; but afterwards his imagination and design rose and expanded with the vastness of the subject. There have been numerous and elaborate dissertations on the origin of this poem, each critic and commentator rivalling another in a parade of learning and ingenuity to attempt the proof of the original fountain from which Milton imbibed the conception.

It has been well observed that few poets could themselves tell when the seeds of their great works were first sown in their minds. This may apply to most writers of fiction. It applies remarkably to Milton, who distinctly apprised his readers many years before of his design to give his country some great work; and while mentioning the story of Prince Arthur, Alfred, and others, as fit foundations to build an epic on, yet does not glance even at the story of *the fall*; though he almost has made a parade of his predilection for scriptural subjects. It is evident, then, that while he had been storing his mind with the materials for an epic, he had not made his election till after the publication of his chief prose works, in which he is very communicative about his principles, feelings, and literary projects. Had he conceived the thought of *the fall* before, as a subject, (much more brought it to maturity,) there is the strongest presumptive evidence that he would have given some intimation of it. The only real insight we can obtain (for his friends and his biographers are silent on the subject) into the commencement of the poem, he himself gives us in that remarkable passage at the opening of the Ninth Book:

> "If answerable style I can obtain
> Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
> Her nightly visitation, *unimplor'd*,
> And dictates to me slumb'ring; or *inspires*
> *Easy* my *unpremeditated verse;*
> Since first this subject for heroic song
> Pleas'd me *long choosing*, and *beginning late*."

From this it appears, not only that he conceived himself inspired (a notion with which all his family were impressed), but that he had not selected his *subject* till he was far advanced in life. But then comes the inquiry as to the *sources* from which he derived the scheme of the poem. Voltaire, who resided in England in 1727, and was a complete master of our language, first broached the thought. He pretended, in his natural vanity of making a great discovery, to trace the origin of Paradise Lost to the Adamo of Andreini, an Italian stage-player of no literary repute, but possessing a vivid and wild imagination. His Adamo was a sort of burlesque comedy, in which Adam, Eve, God, Satan, angels, and devils were characters. The first scene opens with a chorus, in which a cherub speaks for the rest, commencing thus:—"Let the rainbow be the fiddlestick of heaven; let time make the sharps; and let the planets be the notes of our musick." Is it to such laughable and grotesque mummery as this, that Voltaire, and even some admirers of Milton, would ascribe the origin of Paradise Lost? On examination, the Adamo was found to be too flimsy a foundation on which to erect such a superstructure as Paradise Lost; and that conceit was abandoned. But the idea was too alluring to be abandoned; the mania of discovery infected the critics, and every scholar gave his guess. About a dozen Italian writers, many of less note than even Andreini, have been grubbed out of their obscurity by as many critics in their idle search. The Italian origin having eventually been given up as hopeless, a whole host of Latin poems, written by jesuits, monks, and others—among them the Adamus Exul of Grotius, and the poems of Avitus, have been severally quoted: these, again, have given way before the force of rigorous investigation. Next, some English poems have been quoted; but when examined, they too were found wanting. Having toiled through this mass of critical investigation, I see not a shadow of proof that he has borrowed from any other source than what he himself acknowledges—the pure fountain of Holy Writ.

The unrivalled greatness of the work first tempted and next stimulated so much inquiry; and the numerous *discrepancies* between the opinions of so many learned critics, are, I think, sufficient

evidence to any sober-minded scholar of the failure and futility of their labours. Let any judicious and unprejudiced man read the enumeration of these opinions in Todd's edition, and he will, if I mistake not, agree with me. No doubt there were many works of greater or lesser merit, in which the revolt in heaven and the fall of man were treated of, published before Paradise Lost; and it is possible that Milton may have read most, if not all of them, and extracted the essence of their beauties: even if he had not read them, which is most likely, it is natural, as it is in a detail of most occurrences, even in real life, that there should be *coincidences* of arrangement, description, illustration, and comparison in his account and theirs. Much of this virulent criticism against the poet, may be traced to the hostility against the controversialist. But we are not to consider the, perhaps, objectionable character of the polemic and the politician, in our consideration of his work, which ought to be judged of as he intended it, as an ἐς ἀεὶ κτῆμα, as Herodotus says, a legacy to his country for all future ages. What is it to the admirers of the Iliad and the Odyssey whether Homer, the mendicant singer, was the original author of these admired poems; or only a collector of the songs and rhapsodies on the subjects of the Theban and Trojan wars, embellishing these stories, and adding many of his own? We know the Æneid to be in a great measure a chaste and judicious compilation from the Iliad and Odyssey, yet we do not the less admire it on that account. But this charity is not extended to Milton — a greater far than either. The man is often remembered in his great work. Of this there is a singular instance in the case of the *immortally infamous* Lauder, a Scotchman of considerable classical erudition and research, who, from a strange detestation of Milton's principles, especially in his attack on the character of King Charles I. conceived the abominable design of blasting his literary character, in the work from which he anticipated fame — fame which his country was willing to concede to him. When Bishop Newton advertised his meditated edition of Paradise Lost, Lauder announced to him that he had in his possession many poems from which Milton plagiarised not merely the scheme of the poem, but whole descriptions and illustrations. Newton, who was

aware of Milton's vast genius and universal scholarship, doubted the fact; but advised him to publish the result of his discovery. He did so in a series of papers in the Gentleman's Magazine, and afterwards more methodically in an "Essay on Milton's Imitations of the Moderns." This having created a sensation, Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Douglass searched the archives of Oxford, and discovered that Lauder was guilty of the most base and infamous imposture that has disgraced literature in modern ages. Douglass published a pamphlet entitled, "Milton Vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism, brought by Lauder; and Lauder himself convicted of Forgeries and gross Imposition on the Public." By this, Lauder, who, in parading his own learning, and quoting books inaccessible to most readers, (for he exhibited a long roll of the works of Scotch, German, Dutch and other writers, neither published nor known,) hoped to escape detection, and cajole the public, fell into his own trap, and was compelled publicly to acknowledge his own forgeries. He quoted, it seems, passages from books that he had not seen. He introduced, here and there of his own concoction, passages as if from books that he had seen; and quoted, as passages of these authors, whole lines from the Latin translation of Paradise Lost, by Hogg. However, his exposure and discomfiture were complete; but the vile spirit that actuated Lauder is not yet dead. Milton's stand for the religious and political liberty of his country still raises up against him immitigable enemies. Paradise Lost has passed through its ordeal; and the verdict of all honest and the most learned men is now recorded--that it is the greatest of all poems, ancient or modern.

It is far more interesting to know Milton's temper of mind, and his habits of composing, while engaged in this work. It is stated by his nephew that "his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal to the vernal equinox; and what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction." Though Milton says, in one of his early elegies, that spring was his favourable time for composition, it must be borne in mind, that as he changed his habits of reading, from sitting up till midnight to going to bed and rising early, so may his times of easy composition change. However,

his nephew Phillips, who read the poem during its progress, states the fact positively, and he says he often heard it from Milton. This is enough. "When he was up, and dictated, he sat in an easy chair, with his leg flung over the elbow of it. He frequently composed lying in bed in the morning; sometimes he would lie awake whole nights, and could not produce a single verse. At other times his 'easy unpremeditated verse' would flow upon him with a certain *œstrum* or *impetus*, as he himself imagined. Then he rang for his daughter to secure what came." But it appears that his youngest daughter was not his *sole* amanuensis; for the MS., which is preserved, is by *different* female hands. When the poem was finished, great difficulties were presented to its publication; the licenser fancied there lurked treason in his noble comparison of Satan to the sun in an eclipse (b. i. 596); and this difficulty having been surmounted, the publishers were timid to encourage the production of a man so inimical to royalty, and a work so unusual in its style of poetry. At last, Simmons, on the 27th of April, 1667, signed a contract with him; the terms of which were, that he was to receive 5*l.* down; 5*l.* more on the sale of 1300 copies of the first edition; and 5*l.* on the sale of 1300 copies of each subsequent one; it being stipulated that no edition was to exceed 1500 copies. The first edition, price three shillings, was published in a small quarto, and consisted of ten books; and, in order to circulate the book, there were five various titles given, one after another. In April, 1669, Milton received the second 5*l.* In the next edition, revised by Milton, the Seventh and Tenth Books, from their great length, and for a more proper distribution of the subject, were divided, with some additions, into two books each. This edition was not published, however, till the year of his death; and he did not reap the profit of it. The third edition was published in 1678, and Milton's widow, to whom he bequeathed the copyright, transferred her entire right, Dec. 21, 1680, to Simmons, for 8*l.* Simmons had previously sold his right in the book to Aylmer, and Aylmer sold it to Tonson, 1690,—each at a considerable profit. It is thought that the book circulated slowly, and there is a story, generally believed, that chance first gave it

popularity. The story is, that Lord Buckhurst, afterwards the Earl of Dorset, in company with Mr. Fleetwood Shepherd, looking about for books in Little Britain, (a district of the City near St. Paul's,) accidentally met with Paradise Lost, and having been struck with some passages, bought it; the bookseller requesting his patronage of it as a book, though talented, yet lying idle in his shop. He sent it to Dryden for his opinion, who returned it with this memorable answer, "This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too." This is a manifest error. The fact is, that considering the sale of books—even the most meritorious, at that time, it had a great and rapid sale, and was singularly appreciated. Dr. Johnson, in evidence of this, states the curious fact, that for *forty-one* years, from 1623 to 1664, there were only two editions, amounting to about 1000 copies, of Shakspeare, the poetic idol of the British nation, sold; whereas, in two years, there were 1300 copies of Paradise Lost in circulation at the time this supposed occurrence took place, *i. e.* two years after the first appearance of the work; for Milton's receipt for the second payment, on the 26th of April, 1669, is in existence; and there were 3000 copies of the book sold in eleven years, *i. e.* two editions from 1667 to 1678, when the third edition appeared. There is another argument against the credibility of this alluring and popular story. Dryden was a constant visitor and admirer of Milton while alive, (the story would convey the notion that Dryden was asked for his opinion of a work he knew nothing of,) and of course was well acquainted with Paradise Lost from its first publication; and it must be a fair presumption, that a literary man like the Earl of Dorset, the friend of Dryden, did not first meet with it in this chance way at a bookseller's. That Dryden, if the book were so sent to him, made the foregoing observation is most natural, as he was the author of the famous epigram—

> "Three poets, in three distant ages born,
> Greece, Italy, and England did adorn:
> The first in loftiness of thought surpassed;
> The second in dignity; in both the last.
> The force of nature could no farther go;
> To make the third, she joined the former two."

In 1688, a folio edition, under the patronage of the famous

Lord Somers, was published by subscription; 500 of the most eminent men in England being subscribers. In 1695, the first edition, with notes, was published by Mr. Patrick Hume, a Scotchman. This was the sixth edition of the text. Of Addison's criticism it is needless now to speak—it is familiar to every scholar, and has contributed more than any other work to place Milton in his proper place, at the very pinnacle of the temple of poetic fame. In 1732, Dr. Bentley published his edition with notes; but by it his critical celebrity was much obscured. He attempted to remodel the text in a great measure —whole lines of the most beautiful passages he would expunge; or correct by spurious intermixtures of his own. His attempt was a signal, and is a memorable failure: no great scholar ever injured his own previous character by a single work so completely: yet it must be admitted, that in his notes there are some shrewd and useful observations. In 1733, Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Bangor, and the editor of Longinus, published his "Review of the Text of Paradise Lost," in which he overthrew most of the objections of Bentley, and gave some valuable annotations. In 1734, the edition by the Richardsons, father and son, with notes, appeared. But the most valuable of all the editions of Milton's poetic works was given by Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol; urged to the undertaking by the Earl of Bath, and Dr. Pearce, who, with others, contributed largely to his Commentary. The second edition of 3 vols. 4to. in 1754, contained a great accession of critical and explanatory matter; and nearly completed what Dr. Pearce had left undone. It is needless to enumerate all the learned men who have commented on this work; but the next great editor was the Rev. Dr. Todd, whose edition of 1809 in seven volumes 8vo. (four being bestowed, including prefatory matter, on Paradise Lost) of his poetic works, embraced nearly all that was useful in the labours of previous editors and annotators, and gave a great body of additional illustrations from old English and Italian authors, neither known nor heard of, except by the learned. In 1824, Mr. Hawkins, Fellow of Oriel College, published his edition of the poetic works in 4 vols. 8vo, omitting the really useless and irrelevant part of Todd's voluminous notes, and

blending with Dr. Newton's Notes, occasionally abbreviated, some supplemental notes from Warton's and Dunster's editions of the minor poems. His edition of Paradise Lost is little more than a duplicate of Newton's; and his edition of the other poems is mostly a compilation from Newton, Dunster, and Warton. In 1835, Sir Egerton Brydges published an edition in 6 vols. small 8vo, containing a few notes of general illustration extracted from former editions; from these two editions I have derived no benefit.

I subjoin the following few general remarks on Milton's *imitations* of the Ancients, from a short anonymous essay, now out of print. The particular illustrations of this excellent author's theories, and his applications, I have liberally availed myself of in the Notes:—

"Aristotle ascribes the origin of poetry to the pleasure we take in imitations, which distinguishes us from all other creatures, and makes us lovers of painting and sculpture as well. This pleasure arises from the comparison the mind makes between the imitation, and thing imitated. Hence it is evident, that when one good poet imitates another, we have a double pleasure; the first proceeding from a comparison of the description with its object, and the second from comparing the one description with the other.

"That in every simile we have a double pleasure: first, in comparing the image it conveys with its object; the other, in comparing it with the subject it was designed to illustrate; but if the simile be imitated from another author, we have still one pleasure more.

"That when a poet imitates a description from another poet, which had been imitated from a third, our pleasure is still the greater; therefore the imitations in Milton are, in this respect, beyond those of Virgil, because he has imitated some places of Virgil which are imitations of Homer.

"We must observe, that in poetical descriptions, paintings, &c. the greater likeness they bear to what we consider as the original, our pleasure is the more. But here it is different with these secondary imitations we treat of; for frequently a considerable alteration from the original has a very agreeable effect; for we

have in our nature a principle to be delighted with what is new, to which it is plain the latter kind of imitations is not very conformable; on which account they ought to have, as well as a likeness, a due variation, that at one and the same time they may gratify our several dispositions, of being pleased with what is imitated, and with what is new. And from this it appears, that in these imitations there ought generally to be observed a medium betwixt a literal translation and a distant allusion; as the first destroys the pleasure we have from what is new, and the latter encroaches on what we receive from imitations.

"Homer had certainly more invention than Virgil; and Virgil more judgment than Homer. But Homer had more of Virgil's talent, than Virgil had of his; and, besides, possessed his own in a greater degree than Virgil did his own: in short, Homer had more judgment than Virgil had invention, and more invention than Virgil had judgment. Yet the Æneid does not fall so short of the Iliad, as Virgil's genius seems to do of Homer's; which, no doubt, in a great part, is owing to his skilful imitations.

"But Milton surpasses both; for he was equal to Homer in invention, and superior to him and Virgil in judgment.

"The passages a poet is to imitate ought to be selected with great care, and should ever be the best parts of the best authors, and always ought to be improved in the imitation; so that vastly less invention and judgment is required to make a good original, than a fine imitation. Accordingly, we are told by the old writer of the Life of Virgil, that it was a saying of that poet, that it would be easier to take the club from Hercules, than a line from Homer.

"But from Milton's having refined exceedingly upon some passages of Homer and Virgil, we would not infer that he was a greater poet than either of them, though the consideration of the *whole* poem will *justly entitle* him to that *rank;* but only that these imitations would cost the author more pains, and give the reader greater pleasure, than an original composition. And indeed several of those passages he has imitated were so extremely fine in the original, that to improve them required a care and happiness superior to that which produced them.

"Milton frequently in an imitation does not confine himself to the passage he principally takes it from, but renders it more complete by hints taken from *other places* of the same author, or from *another author*.

"As Virgil found it such a difficult thing to improve the verses of Homer, so it must have been a more difficult labour for Milton to improve on Virgil's imitations,—and *yet he has always succeeded*. But the merit of ordinary poets consists in the difficulty of imitating,—and the more literal they are, the better."

Addison's criticism on Paradise Lost is so eminently sagacious, learned, and just, and so indispensable to every commentator who wishes his labours to be useful, that it forms a necessary portion of every good commentary. His remarks on isolated passages of the poem I have given in the Notes, wherever I found them elucidatory: and I here quote some general observations as guides to direct the reader to a proper comprehension of the scheme and principles of an epic poem.

"I shall waive the discussion of that point which was started a few years since, whether the Paradise Lost may be called an heroic poem. Those who will not give it that title may call it a *divine poem;* it will be sufficient to its perfection if it has in it all the beauties of the highest kind of poetry; and as for those who allege it is not an heroic poem, they advance no more to the diminution of it, than if they should say that Adam is not Æneas, or Eve Helen. The first thing to be considered in an epic poem is the *fable*, which is perfect or imperfect according as the action is more or less so. This *action* should have three qualifications in it: first, it should be one action; secondly, it should be an entire action; thirdly, it should be a great action. Homer, to preserve the unity of his action, opens his poem with the discord of his princes, and artfully interweaves, in the several succeeding parts, an account of every thing material which relates to them, and had passed before that fatal dissension. In the same manner Æneas makes his first appearance on the Tuscan seas, within sight of Italy, because the action proposed to be celebrated was that of his settling in Latium. But because it was necessary for the reader to know what had happened to him

in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his voyage, Virgil makes his hero relate it by way of episode, in the second and third books. Milton, in imitation of these great poets, opens his Paradise Lost with an infernal council plotting the fall of man, which is the action he proposed to celebrate; and casts the great actions which preceded it—the war in heaven, and the creation, into the fifth, sixth, and seventh books, by way of episode, in order to preserve the unity of the principal action. Aristotle himself allows that Homer has not much to boast of as to the unity of the fable; so, many have been of opinion that, the Æneid has episodes which are excrescences. On the contrary, Paradise Lost has none, however various and astonishing the incidents, that do not naturally arise from the subject. As Virgil, in the poem which was designed to celebrate the origin of the Roman empire, has described the birth of its great rival, the Carthaginian commonwealth, Milton, with the like art, in his poem on the fall of man, has related the fall of those angels who are his professed enemies—an episode, which, running parallel with the main action, does not break its unity.

"The second qualification, *i. e.* that the action should be entire, requires that nothing should be stated as going before it, intermixed with it, or following it, which is not related to it. In this particular, Paradise Lost excels the Iliad and Æneid. The action is contrived in hell, executed on earth, and punished by heaven.

"The third qualification is greatness. The anger of Achilles was of such consequence, that it embroiled the heroes of Greece, destroyed those of Asia, and engaged all the gods in faction. Æneas's settlement in Italy produced the Roman empire and all its heroes. Milton's subject was greater than either; it does not determine the fate of single persons or nations, but of the whole *human race*. Every thing that is great in the whole circle of being, whether within the verge of nature or out of it, has a proper part assigned to it in this admirable poem. In poetry, as in architecture, not only the whole, but the principal members should be great; and without derogating from those wonderful performances, the Iliad and Æneid, I think there is much greater

magnificence in Paradise Lost than could have been formed on any pagan system.

"The action of the Iliad, and that of the Æneid, were, in themselves, exceedingly short; but are so beautifully diversified and extended by the invention of episodes, and the machinery of gods, with the like poetical ornaments, that they make up an agreeable story, sufficient to employ the memory without overcharging it. Milton's action is enriched by such a variety of circumstances, that I have taken as much pleasure in reading the contents of his books, as in the best invented story I ever met with. It is possible that the traditions on which the Iliad and Æneid were built had more circumstances in them than the history of the fall of man, as it is related in Scripture. Besides, it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the truth with fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the religion of their country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few circumstances upon which to raise, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest caution in every thing that he added out of his own invention; and, indeed, notwithstanding all the restraint, he has filled his story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close an analogy with what is delivered in holy writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without giving offence to the most scrupulous."

It has been asserted by Pope, Johnson, and other critics of acknowledged authority in their remarks on English versification, that in all smooth English poetry, there is naturally a *pause* at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, upon the judicious management and change of which depends the melody and variety of the verse. Milton not limiting himself to this generally received principle, varies the pause according to the *sense*, and varies it through all the ten syllables of the verse, by which he is master of greater and more diversified harmony, especially in Paradise Lost, than any other English poet. In the first six lines of this poem, he varies the pause no less than five times, making it rest in the first line on the 7th syllable; in the second and third line on the 6th; in the fourth on the 5th; in the fifth on the 3d; and in the sixth on the 4th. A few instances of his laying the *pause* on other

syllables may here suffice, as numerous occasions of noticing the fact will arise in the progress of these annotations:—he lays it on the first, B. iv. 351, B. vi. 838; on the second, B. iv. 602, B. v. 267; on the eighth, B. i. 287, B. ii. 110; on the ninth, B. i. 386, B. vii. 323; and on the tenth, B. iii. 393, B. vi. 767. But he does not content himself with mere change of pause, he uses even two or more pauses in the same verse, for the purpose of greater effect, as B. x. 851, B. vi. 852, B. ii. 950, *et alibi.* Nor is this variation of the pause the only mode by which he produces force of effect and melody of verse: he varies the *metre* also, for it is not, as is generally imagined, pure *iambic*—an iambic foot consists of one short and one long syllable, and six such constituted the ancient iambic line: the English iambic has but five feet. In imitation of some of the best ancient models which contain the mixed iambic, or fusion of other feet with the iambic, he frequently mixes with the iambic other feet as the trochee, or one long and one short syllable, thus (— ⏑), spondee, two long (— —), dactyl, one long and two short (— ⏑ ⏑), the pyrrhic, two short (⏑ ⏑), anapæst, two short and one long (⏑ ⏑ —), and the tribrach, three short (⏑ ⏑ ⏑); though the laws of versification seem to have prescribed that the concluding foot of the English pentameter, or line of five feet, should be an iambic, yet Milton has, with consummate grace and judgment, sometimes converted this into a spondee, for instance, in B. vi. 216, where the first foot is a trochee.

"Sīlĕnce, ye troubled waves, and thou dĕep—peăce."

There are other peculiarities and licences borrowed from the classic poets in his versification, which must be kept in view, in order to form a just conception of its force and melody; sometimes the last vowel of a word, when the next begins with a vowel, is to be cut off in the reading and scansion, although the vowel is retained in print: this the grammarians call *elision.* *Shakspeare*, and *Spenser* occasionally take this liberty; sometimes the same word is to be read as two syllables, and sometimes, by what is grammatically termed *contraction*, as one; such as *power, reason, riot, ruin, highest, spirit*, &c. &c.; sometimes, too, the accent is shifted from the syllable on which established usage has fixed it; as in *triumph*,

exile, and sometimes he lengthens or shortens a syllable according to the exigencies of his metrical law.

But it is not merely his licence of prosody as auxiliary to poetic harmony that must be considered, in order to form a just estimate of the power and elegance of his style; his careful selection of words, their arrangement and combination, the frequent classicalities of his phrases and allusions, and the antique structure of his sentences, have long given him a pre-eminence in our language, as the chief author who has kept alive the manner and spirit of the ancient authors. These variations of pause and metre, with all his metrical licences, his choice of words and their disposition, have enabled him to attain in the highest degree of all poets next to Homer, what is one of the rarest perfections of poetry, the assimilation of the sound to the sense: his lines by their smoothness and roughness, by the necessity of reading them slowly or rapidly, give a perfect picture, and, as it were, an *echo* of the subject matter. All critics agree in this, but in greater and lesser degrees according to their various tastes; I have thought it better to state these principles generally, leaving the particular applications of them to the reader's judgment.

There are other beauties that deserve to be noticed; such as his *inversions*, or throwing the words out of the common prose arrangement; his *alliterations* in various forms; his judicious use of monosyllabic lines; his blending of the singular and plural numbers; his change of tenses; and his detaching the auxiliary verb from the participle, by which he has contrived to give additional force and effect to his lines; he frequently uses the contraction in such words as *fallen*, *covering*, *dangerous*, *general*, *emperor*, &c. More than these general principles I cannot state within the narrow limits of this edition.—I intended to have given an Essay on his use and imitation of the ancient authors; but such an essay, to be treated fully, or with considerable advantage to the reader, should be made the subject of a separate work, which it is my purpose to give.

J. P.

THE VERSE.

The measure is English heroic verse without rhyme, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; rhyme being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre; graced, indeed, since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hinderance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have expressed them. Not without cause, therefore, some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rhyme both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial, and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect, then, of rhyme so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyming.*

* This Preface, and the Arguments, were not given in the earliest copies of the First Edition, but they were subsequently given by the Author himself.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

The First Book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise, wherein he was placed: then touches the prime cause of his fall, the serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who, revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of angels, was, by the command of God, driven out of heaven, with all his crew, into the great deep. Which action passed over, the poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting Satan, with his angels, now fallen into hell, described here, not in the centre, (for heaven and earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed,) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest called Chaos: here Satan, with his angels, lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him: they confer of their miserable fall: Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded. They rise; their numbers; array of battle: their chief leaders named according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining heaven, but tells them lastly of a new world, and a new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy, or report, in heaven; for, that angels were, long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon, he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium, the palace of Satan, rises, suddenly built out of the deep: the infernal peers there sit in council.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, heav'nly Muse! that, on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
In the beginning how the heav'ns and earth
Rose out of chaos: or, if Sion hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
Fast by the oracle of God; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my advent'rous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above th' Aonian mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose, or rhyme.
And chiefly Thou, O Spirit! that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for Thou knowest: Thou from the first
Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like, sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark,

Illumine! what is low, raise and support!
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.

Say first,—for heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of hell,—say first, what cause
Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy state,
Favour'd of heav'n so highly, to fall off
From their Creator, and transgress his will
For one restraint,—lords of the world besides?
Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?
The infernal Serpent. He it was, whose guile,
Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his host
Of rebel angels; by whose aid, aspiring
To set himself in glory above his peers,
He trusted to have equall'd the Most High,
If he oppos'd; and, with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God
Rais'd impious war in heaven, and battle proud,
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition; there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms.
Nine times the space that measures day and night
To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquish'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,
Confounded, though immortal. But his doom
Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of lost happiness, and lasting pain,
Torments him. Round he throws his baleful eyes,
That witness'd huge affliction and dismay,
Mix'd with obdúrate pride, and steadfast hate:
At once, as far as angels ken, he views

The dismal situation waste and wild:
A dungeon horrible on all sides round
As one great furnace flam'd; yet from those flame
No light; but rather darkness visible
Serv'd only to discover sights of woe!
Regions of sorrow! doleful shades! where peace
And rest can never dwell! hope never comes,
That comes to all! but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd!
Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
For those rebellious; here their prison ordain'd
In utter darkness, and their portion set
As far remov'd from God and light of heaven,
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.
O, how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd
With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire
He soon discerns; and welt'ring by his side
One next himself in pow'r, and next in crime,
Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd
Beëlzebub. To whom th' arch-enemy,—
And thence in heav'n call'd Satan,—with bold words
Breaking the horrid silence, thus began:
"If thou be'st he,—but O, how fall'n! how chang'd
"From him, who, in the happy realms of light,
"Cloth'd with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
"Myriads though bright!—if he, whom mutual league,
"United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
"And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
"Join'd with me once, now misery hath join'd
"In equal ruin; into what pit, thou seest,
"From what height fall'n! so much the stronger prov'd
"He with his thunder: and till then who knew
"The force of those dire arms? Yet not for those,
"Nor what the potent victor in his rage
"Can else inflict, do I repent, or change,
"Though chang'd in outward lustre, that fix'd mind,

" And high disdain, from sense of injur'd merit,
" That with the Mightiest rais'd me to contend;
" And to the fierce contention brought along
" Innumerable force of spirits arm'd,
" That durst dislike his reign; and, me preferring,
" His utmost pow'r with adverse pow'r oppos'd
" In dubious battle on the plains of heav'n,
" And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
" All is not lost; th' unconquerable will,
" And study of revenge, immortal hate,
" And courage never to submit or yield,
" And what is else not to be overcome,—
" That glory never shall his wrath, or might,
" Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
" With suppliant knee, and deify his power,
" Who, from the terror of this arm, so late
" Doubted his empire! That were low indeed!
" That were an ignominy, and shame beneath
" This downfal! since, by Fate, the strength of gods
" And this empyreal substance cannot fail;
" Since, through experience of this great event,—
" In arms not worse, in foresight much advanc'd,—
" We may, with more successful hope, resolve
" To wage by force or guile eternal war,
" Irreconcileable to our grand foe,
" Who now triumphs, and in the excess of joy
" Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven."
So spake th' apostate angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:
And him thus answer'd soon his bold compeer:
" O Prince! O chief of many throned Powers!
" That led the embattled seraphim to war
" Under thy conduct; and, in dreadful deeds
" Fearless, endanger'd heav'n's perpetual King,
" And put to proof his high supremacy,
" Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate;
" Too well I see, and rue the dire event,
" That with sad overthrow and foul defeat

" Hath lost us heaven; and all this mighty host
" In horrible destruction laid thus low,
" As far as gods and heav'nly essences
" Can perish; for the mind and spirit remains
" Invincible, and vigour soon returns,
" Though all our glory extinct, and happy state
" Here swallow'd up in endless misery.
" But what if He our Conqueror (whom I now
" Of force believe almighty, since no less
" Than such could have o'erpower'd such force as ours)
" Have left us this our spirit and strength entire,
" Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
" That we may so suffice his vengeful ire;
" Or do him mightier service, as his thralls
" By right of war, whate'er his business be,
" Here in the heart of hell to work in fire,
" Or do his errands in the gloomy deep?
" What can it then avail, though yet we feel
" Strength undiminish'd, or eternal being,
" To undergo eternal punishment?"
Whereto with speedy words th' arch-fiend replied:
" Fall'n Cherub! to be weak is miserable,
" Doing, or suff'ring; but of this be sure,
" To do aught good never will be our task,
" But ever to do ill our sole delight,
" As being the contrary to His high will,
" Whom we resist. If then his providence
" Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
" Our labour must be to pervert that end,
" And out of good still to find means of evil;
" Which oft-times may succeed, so as perhaps
" Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
" His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim.
" But see! the angry Victor hath recall'd
" His ministers of vengeance and pursuit
" Back to the gates of heav'n: the sulph'rous hail,
" Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
" The fiery surge, that from the precipice

" Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder.
" Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
" Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
" To bellow through the vast and boundless deep:
" Let us not slip th' occasion, whether scorn,
" Or satiate fury, yield it from our foe.
" Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild,
" The seat of desolation, void of light,
" Save what the glimm'ring of these livid flames
" Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
" From off the tossing of these fiery waves;
" There rest, if any rest can harbour there;
" And, reassembling our afflicted pow'rs,
" Consult how we may henceforth most offend
" Our enemy—our own loss how repair—
" How overcome this dire calamity—
" What re-enforcement we may gain from hope—
" If not—what resolution from despair."
Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blaz'd: his other parts besides,
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood; in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,
Briareös, or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarsus held; or that sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim the ocean stream:
Him haply slumb'ring on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff
Deeming some island oft, as seamen tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind
Moors by his side under the lee, while night
Invests the sea, and wished morn delays:
So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay,
Chain'd on the burning lake: nor ever thence
Had ris'n, or heav'd his head, but that the will

And high permission of all-ruling Heav'n
Left him at large to his own dark designs;
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
Evil to others; and, enrag'd, might see
How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy, shown
On man by him seduc'd; but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance, pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature: on each hand the flames,
Driv'n backward, slope their pointing spires, and, roll'd
In billows, leave in the midst a horrid vale:
Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,
That felt unusual weight; till on dry land
He lights,—if it were land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the lake with liquid fire;
And such appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
Of thundering Ætna, whose combustible
And fuell'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
With stench and smoke. Such resting found the sole
Of unblest feet! Him follow'd his next mate;
Both glorying to have 'scap'd the Stygian flood,
As Gods, and by their own recover'd strength,
Not by the suff'rance of supernal pow'r.
"Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,"—
Said then the lost archangel,—"this the seat
"That we must change for Heav'n?—this mournful gloom,
"For that celestial light? Be it so, since He,
"Who now is Sov'reign, can dispose, and bid
"What shall be right! Farthest from him is best,
"Whom reason hath equall'd, force hath made supreme

" Above his equals. Farewell, happy fields,
" Where joy for ever dwells! Hail, horrors! hail,
" Infernal world! and thou, profoundest Hell,
" Receive thy new possessor!—one who brings
" A mind not to be chang'd by place or time:
" The mind is its own place, and in itself
" Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.
" What matter where, if I be still the same,
" And what I should be,—all but less than He
" Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
" We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
" Here for his envy;—will not drive us hence:
" Here we may reign secure; and, in my choice,
" To reign is worth ambition, though in hell:
" Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.
" But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
" The associates and copartners of our loss,
" Lie thus astonish'd on the oblivious pool,
" And call them not to share with us their part
" In this unhappy mansion; or once more,
" With rallied arms, to try what may be yet
" Regain'd in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell?"
So Satan spake, and him Beëlzebub
Thus answer'd:
" Leader of those armies bright,
" Which but the Omnipotent none could have foil'd!
" If once they hear that voice,—their liveliest pledge
" Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft
" In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
" Of battle when it rag'd, in all assaults
" Their surest signal,—they will soon resume
" New courage and revive; though now they lie
" Grov'ling and prostrate on yon lake of fire,
" As we erewhile, astounded and amaz'd:
" No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious height!"
He scarce had ceas'd, when the superior fiend
Was moving tow'rd the shore: his pond'rous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,

Behind him cast: the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At ev'ning, from the top of Fesolé,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe.
His spear,—to equal which the tallest pine,
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great amiral, were but a wand,—
He walk'd with, to support uneasy steps
Over the burning marle,—not like those steps
On heaven's azure; and the torrid clime
Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with fire.
Nathless he so endur'd, till on the beach
Of that inflamed sea he stood, and call'd
His legions, angel forms, who lay entranc'd
Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades,
High over-arch'd, imbow'r; or scatter'd sedge
Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd
Hath vex'd the Red-sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they pursu'd
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcasses
And broken chariot-wheels: so thick bestrewn,
Abject and lost lay these, cov'ring the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.
He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell resounded:
" Princes, Potentates,
" Warriors! the flow'r of heav'n, once yours; now lost,
" If such astonishment as this can seize
" Eternal spirits! Or have ye chos'n this place
" After the toil of battle to repose
" Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find
" To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
" Or in this abject posture have ye sworn

" To adore the Conqueror? who now beholds
" Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
" With scatter'd arms and ensigns; till anon
" His swift pursuers from Heav'n-gates discern
" Th' advantage, and, descending, tread us down
" Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
" Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.
" Awake!—arise!—or be for ever fall'n!"
They heard, and were abash'd, and up they sprung
Upon the wing; as when men, wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.
Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to their gen'ral's voice they soon obey'd,
Innumerable! As when the potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
Wav'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:
So numberless were those bad angels seen
Hov'ring on wing under the cope of hell,
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires:
Till, at a signal giv'n, th' uplifted spear
Of their great sultan waving to direct
Their course, in even balance down they light
On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain:
A multitude, like which the populous North
Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to pass
Rhene, or the Danaw, when her barb'rous sons
Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands.
Forthwith from ev'ry squadron, and each band,
The heads and leaders thither haste, where stood
Their great commander; godlike shapes, and forms
Excelling human, princely dignities,
And Pow'rs that erst in heaven sat on thrones!

Though of their names in heav'nly records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd
By their rebellion from the books of life.
Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
Got them new names; till wand'ring o'er the earth,
Through God's high suff'rance for the trial of man,
By falsities and lies, the greatest part
Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
God their Creator, and th' invisible
Glory of Him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute adorn'd
With gay religions full of pomp and gold;
And devils to adore for deities:
Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols through the heathen world.
Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
Rous'd from the slumber on that fiery couch,
At their great emp'ror's call, as next in worth,
Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof.
The chief were those, who, from the pit of hell
Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix
Their seats long after next the seat of God;
Their altars by his altar;—gods ador'd
Among the nations round;—and durst abide
Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, thron'd
Between the Cherubim: yea, often plac'd
Within his sanctuary itself their shrines—
Abominations! and with cursed things
His holy rites and solemn feasts profan'd,
And with their darkness durst affront his light.
First, MOLOCH, horrid king! besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears;
Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that pass'd through fire
To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worshipp'd in Rabba and her wat'ry plain,

In Argob, and in Basan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart
Of Solomon he led by fraud, to build
His temple right against the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill; and made his grove,
The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd,—the type of hell.
Next, Chemos, the obscene dread of Moab's sons,
From Aroër to Nebo, and the wild
Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
And Horonaïm, Seön's realm, beyond
The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines;
And Eleäle to th' asphaltic pool.
Peör his other name, when he entic'd
Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile,
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarg'd
Ev'n to that hill of scandal, by the grove
Of Moloch homicide,—lust hard by hate,—
Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell.
With these came they, who, from the bord'ring flood
Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
Egypt from Syrian ground, had gen'ral names
Of Baälim and Ashtaroth; those male,
These feminine: For spirits, when they please,
Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
And uncompounded is their essence pure;
Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
Like cumbrous flesh; but, in what shape they choose,
Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,
Can execute their aery purposes,
And works of love, or enmity, fulfil.
For those the race of Israel oft forsook
Their Living Strength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To bestial gods; for which their heads as low

Bow'd down in battle, sunk before the spear
Of despicable foes.
With these in troop
Came ASTORETH, whom the Phœnicians call'd
Astarte, queen of heav'n, with crescent horns;
To whose bright image nightly by the moon
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs;
In Sion also not unsung, where stood
Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul.
THAMMUZ came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In am'rous ditties, all a summer's day;
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat;
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,
His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah.
Next came one
Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark
Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopp'd off
In his own temple, on the grunsel edge,
Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers:
DAGON his name; sea-monster; upward man,
And downward fish; yet had his temple high
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
Of Palestine, in Gath, and Ascalon,
And Accaron, and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him follow'd RIMMON, whose delightful seat
Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
Of Abbana, and Pharphar, lucid streams:
He also 'gainst the house of God was bold:

A leper once he lost, and gained a king,—
Ahaz, his sottish conqueror,—whom he drew
God's altar to disparage, and displace
For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offrings, and adore the gods
Whom he had vanquish'd.
After these appear'd
A crew, who, under names of old renown,
Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,
With monstrous shapes, and sorceries, abus'd
Fanatic Egypt and her priests, to seek
Their wand'ring gods disguis'd in brutish forms
Rather than human. Nor did Israel 'scape
The infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd
The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
Doubled that sin in Bethel, and in Dan,
Lik'ning his Maker to the grazed ox,
Jehovah! who, in one night, when he pass'd
From Egypt marching, equall'd with one stroke
Both her first-born and all her bleating gods.
Belial came last, than whom a spirit more lewd
Fell not from heaven, or more gross to love
Vice for itself: to him no temple stood,
Or altar smok'd: yet who more oft than he
In temples, and at altars, when the priest
Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons who fill'd
With lust and violence the house of God?
In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest tow'rs,
And injury, and outrage: and when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine:
Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hospitable door
Expos'd a matron, to avoid worse rape.
These were the prime, in order and in might:
The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,

Th' Ionian gods, of Javan's issue; held
Gods, yet confess'd later than heaven and earth,
Their boasted parents: Titan, heaven's first-born,
With his enormous brood, and birthright seiz'd
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove,
His own and Rhea's son, like measure found;
So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete
And Ida known; thence on the snowy top
Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,
Their highest heaven; or on the Delphian cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric land; or who, with Saturn old,
Fled over Adria to the Hesperian fields,
And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost isles.
All these and more came flocking, but with looks
Downcast and damp; yet such wherein appear'd
Obscure some glimpse of joy, to have found their chief
Not in despair—to have found themselves not lost
In loss itself; which on his count'nance cast
Like doubtful hue: but he, his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently rais'd
Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears:
Then straight commands, that at the warlike sound
Of trumpets loud, and clarions, be uprear'd
His mighty standard. That proud honour claim'd
Azazel as his right, a cherub tall;
Who forthwith from the glitt'ring staff unfurl'd
Th' imperial ensign; which, full high advanc'd,
Shone like a meteor, streaming to the wind,
With gems and golden lustre rich emblaz'd,—
Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds:
At which the universal host up sent
A shout, that tore hell's concave; and, beyond,
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.
All in a moment through the gloom were seen
Ten thousand banners rise into the air,

With orient colours waving: with them rose
A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
Appear'd; and serried shields, in thick array,
Of depth immeasurable: anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes, and soft recorders; such as rais'd
To height of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle; and, instead of rage,
Delib'rate valour breath'd, firm, and unmov'd
With dread of death to flight, or foul retreat;
Nor wanting power to mitigate and 'suage,
With solemn touches, troubled thoughts; and chase
Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain,
From mortal, or immortal minds. Thus they,
Breathing united force, with fixed thought
Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd
Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil: and now,
Advanc'd in view, they stand; a horrid front
Of dreadful length, and dazzling arms! in guise
Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield;
Awaiting what command their mighty chief
Had to impose. He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
The whole battalion views—their order due—
Their visages and stature as of gods—
Their number last he sums. And now his heart
Distends with pride, and hard'ning in his strength
Glories: for never, since created man,
Met such embodied force, as, nam'd with these,
Could merit more than that small infantry
Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood
Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd
That fought at Thebes, and Ilium, on each side
Mix'd with auxiliar gods; and what resounds
In fable or romance of Uther's son
Begirt with British and Armoric knights;
And all who since, baptiz'd or infidel,
Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,

Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond;
Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore,
When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
Compare of mortal prowess yet observ'd
Their dread commander: he, above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tow'r: his form had yet not lost
All her original brightness, nor appear'd
Less than archangel ruin'd, and th' excess
Of glory obscur'd: as when the sun, new ris'n,
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams; or, from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs; darken'd so, yet shone
Above them all th' Arch-Angel: but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd; and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion, to behold
The fellows of his crime,—the followers rather,—
(Far other once beheld in bliss!) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain:
Millions of spirits for his fault amerc'd
Of heav'n, and from eternal splendours flung
For his revolt! yet faithful how they stood,
Their glory wither'd! as when heaven's fire
Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
With singed top their stately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd
To speak: whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all his peers; attention held them mute:
Thrice he assay'd, and thrice, in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as angels weep, burst forth: at last
Words, interwove with sighs, found out their way.

" O myriads of immortal spirits! O pow'rs
" Matchless, but with the Almighty! and that strife
" Was not inglorious; though the event was dire,
" As this place testifies, and this dire change
" Hateful to utter! But what power of mind,
" Foreseeing, or presaging, from the depth
" Of knowledge, past or present, could have fear'd
" How such united force of gods,—how such
" As stood like these, could ever know repulse?
" For who can yet believe, though after loss,
" That all these puissant legions, whose exile
" Hath emptied heaven, shall fail to reascend,
" Self-rais'd, and repossess their native seat?
" For me,—be witness all the host of heav'n,
" If counsels different, or dangers shunn'd
" By me, have lost our hopes! But He who reigns
" Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
" Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
" Consent, or custom; and his regal state
" Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
" Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
" Henceforth his might we know, and know our own;
" So as not either to provoke, or dread
" New war, provok'd. Our better part remains
" To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
" What force effected not; that he no less
" At length from us may find, who overcomes
" By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
" Space may produce new worlds; whereof so rife
" There went a fame in heaven, that He ere long
" Intended to create; and therein plant
" A generation, whom his choice regard
" Should favour, equal to the sons of heaven:
" Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
" Our first eruption; thither or elsewhere;
" For this infernal pit shall never hold
" Celestial spirits in bondage, nor th' abyss
" Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts

" Full counsel must mature: peace is despair'd;
" For who can think submission? War then,—war,
" Open or understood, must be resolv'd."
He spake; and, to confirm his words, out flew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumin'd hell: highly they rag'd
Against the Highest; and fierce, with grasped arms,
Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of heav'n.
There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top
Belch'd fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire
Shone with a glossy scurf; undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of sulphur. Thither, wing'd with speed,
A num'rous brigade hasten'd: as when bands
Of pioneers, with spade and pickaxe arm'd,
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on:
Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
From heav'n; for e'en in heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught, divine or holy, else enjoy'd
In vision beatific: by him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransack'd the centre, and with impious hands,
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth,
For treasures, better hid. Soon had his crew
Open'd into the hill a spacious wound,
And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane. And here let those,
Who boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,
Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,
And strength, and art, are easily outdone
By spirits reprobate; and in an hour

What in an age they with incessant toil
And hands innumerable scarce perform.
Nigh on the plain, in many cells prepar'd,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluic'd from the lake, a second multitude,
With wondrous art, founded the massy ore,
Sev'ring each kind, and scumm'd the bullion dross:
A third as soon had form'd within the ground
A various mould, and from the boiling cells
By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook:
As in an organ, from one blast of wind,
To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.
Anon, out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
Of dulcet symphonies, and voices sweet;
Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set, and Doric pillars, overlaid
With golden architrave: nor did there want
Cornice, or frieze, with bossy sculptures grav'n:
The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
Nor great Alcairo, such magnificence
Equall'd in all their glories, to enshrine
Belus, or Serapis, their gods; or seat
Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
In wealth and luxury. The ascending pile
Stood fix'd her stately height: and straight the doors,
Op'ning their brazen folds, discover, wide
Within, her ample spaces, o'er the smooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof,
Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light
As from a sky. The hasty multitude
Admiring enter'd; and the work some praise,
And some the architect: his hand was known
In heav'n by many a tower'd structure high,
Where sceptred angels held their residence,
And sat as princes; whom the supreme King

Exalted to such pow'r, and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.
Nor was his name unheard, or unador'd,
In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell
From heav'n they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements: from morn
To noon he fell—from noon to dewy eve—
A summer's day; and with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith like a falling star,
On Lemnos, the Ægean isle: thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before; nor aught availed him now
To have built in heaven high towers; nor did he 'scape
By all his engines, but was headlong sent
With his industrious crew to build in hell.
Meanwhile, the winged heralds, by command
Of sov'reign power, with awful ceremony
And trumpets' sound, throughout the host proclaim
A solemn council, forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers: their summons call'd,
From every band and squared regiment,
By place or choice the worthiest; they anon,
With hundreds and with thousands, trooping came,
Attended: all access was throng'd: the gates
And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall,
(Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair
Defied the best of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat, or career with lance,)
Thick swarm'd, both on the ground, and in the air,
Brush'd with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees
In spring-time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive,
In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers,
Fly to and fro; or on the smoothed plank,
The suburb of their straw-built citadel,

New rubb'd with balm, expatiate, and confer
Their state affairs: so thick the aery crowd
Swarm'd, and were straiten'd; till, the signal giv'n,
Behold a wonder! They but now who seem'd
In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount; or faery elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest-side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees; while over head the moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth
Wheels her pale course; they, on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear:
At once with joy, and fear, his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms
Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amidst the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic lords, and Cherubim,
In close recess, and secret conclave sat;
A thousand demigods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short silence then,
And summons read, the great consult began.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: a third proposal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature, equal, or not much inferior, to themselves, about this time to be created. Their doubt, who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage; is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his journey to hell-gates: finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them; by whom at length they are opened, and discover to him the great gulf between hell and heaven; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK II.

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus, and of Ind;
Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence: and, from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain war with Heav'n; and, by success untaught,
His proud imaginations thus display'd.
" Pow'rs and Dominions, Deities of heav'n!
" For, since no deep within her gulf can hold
" Immortal vigour, though oppress'd and fall'n,
" I give not heav'n for lost. From this descent
" Celestial virtues rising will appear
" More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
" And trust themselves to fear no second fate.
" Me, though just right, and the fix'd laws of heav'n,
" Did first create your Leader; next, free choice;
" With what besides, in council or in fight,
" Hath been achiev'd of merit; yet this loss,
" Thus far at least recover'd, hath much more

" Established in a safe unenvied throne,
" Yielded with full consent. The happier state
" In heaven, which follows dignity, might draw
" Envy from each inferior: but who here
" Will envy whom the highest place exposes
" Foremost to stand against the Thund'rer's aim,
" Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
" Of endless pain? Where there is then no good
" For which to strive, no strife can grow up there
" From faction: for none sure will claim in hell
" Precedence—none whose portion is so small
" Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
" Will covet more. With this advantage then
" To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
" More than can be in heav'n, we now return
" To claim our just inheritance of old;
" Surer to prosper than prosperity
" Could have assur'd us; and, by what best way,
" Whether of open war, or covert guile,
" We now debate: who can advise, may speak."
He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, sceptred king,
Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest spirit
That fought in heaven,—now fiercer by despair:
His trust was with the Eternal to be deem'd
Equal in strength; and rather than be less
Car'd not to be at all; with that care lost
Went all his fear: of God, or hell, or worse,
He reck'd not: and these words thereafter spake.
" My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
" More unexpert, I boast not; them let those
" Contrive who need; or when they need,—not now.
" For, while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
" Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait
" The signal to ascend, sit ling'ring here,
" Heav'n's fugitives; and for their dwelling-place
" Accept this dark, opprobrious den of shame,
" The prison of his tyranny who reigns
" By our delay? No, let us rather choose,

" Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once,
" O'er Heav'n's high tow'rs to force resistless way,
" Turning our tortures into horrid arms
" Against the torturer! when, to meet the noise
" Of his almighty engine, he shall hear
" Infernal thunder; and, for lightning, see
" Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
" Among his angels; and his throne itself
" Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur, and strange fire,
" His own invented torments. But perhaps
" The way seems difficult, and steep, to scale
" With upright wing against a higher foe.
" Let such bethink them, (if the sleepy drench
" Of that forgetful lake benumb not still,)
" That in our proper motion we ascend
" Up to our native seat: descent and fall
" To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
" When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
" Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,
" With what compulsion, and laborious flight,
" We sunk thus low? The ascent is easy then;
" The event is fear'd; should we again provoke
" Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
" To our destruction, if there be in hell
" Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse
" Than to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
" In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
" Where pain of unextinguishable fire
" Must exercise us without hope of end,
" The vassals of his anger, when the scourge
" Inexorable, and the torturing hour,
" Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus,
" We should be quite abolish'd, and expire.
" What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
" His utmost ire? which, to the height enrag'd,
" Will either quite consume us, and reduce
" To nothing this essential;—happier far
" Than miserable to have eternal being!

" Or if our substance be indeed divine,
" And cannot cease to be, we are at worst
" On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
" Our pow'r sufficient to disturb his heaven,
" And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
" Though inaccessible, his fatal throne;
" Which, if not victory, is yet revenge."
He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
Desperate revenge, and battle dangerous
To less than gods. On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not Heaven; he seem'd
For dignity compos'd, and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels; for his thoughts were low:
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous, and slothful; yet he pleas'd the ear,
And with persuasive accent thus began.
" I should be much for open war, O Peers!
" As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd
" Main reason to persuade immediate war
" Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
" Ominous conjecture on the whole success;
" When he who most excels in fact of arms,
" In what he counsels, and in what excels,
" Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair,
" And utter dissolution, as the scope
" Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
" First, what revenge? The towers of heaven are fill'd
" With armed watch, that render all access
" Impregnable: oft on the bordering deep
" Encamp their legions; or, with obscure wing,
" Scout far and wide into the realm of night,
" Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
" By force, and at our heels all hell should rise
" With blackest insurrection, to confound

" Heaven's purest light; yet our great enemy,
" All incorruptible, would on his throne
" Sit unpolluted; and the ethereal mould,
" Incapable of stain, would soon expel
" Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire,—
" Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
" Is flat despair: we must exasperate
" The almighty Victor to spend all his rage,
" And that must end us;—that must be our cure,
" To be no more. Sad cure! for who would lose,
" Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
" Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
" To perish rather; swallow'd up and lost
" In the wide womb of uncreated night,
" Devoid of sense and motion? And who knows,—
" Let this be good,—whether our angry foe
" Can give it, or will ever? How he can,
" Is doubtful; that he never will, is sure.
" Will He, so wise, let loose at once his ire,
" (Belike through impotence, or unaware,)
" To give his enemies their wish, and end
" Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
" To punish endless? ' Wherefore cease we then?'
" Say they who counsel war; ' We are decreed,
" ' Reserv'd, and destin'd, to eternal woe:
" ' Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
" ' What can we suffer worse? Is this then worst,
" Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
" What! when we fled amain, pursued, and struck
" With heav'n's afflicting thunder, and besought
" The deep to shelter us? This Hell then seem'd
" A refuge from those wounds. Or when we lay
" Chain'd on the burning lake? That sure was worse.
" What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,
" Awak'd, should blow them into sevenfold rage,
" And plunge us in the flames? or, from above,
" Should intermitted vengeance arm again
" His red right hand to plague us? What if all

" Her stores were open'd, and this firmament
" Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire?
" Impendent horrors, threat'ning hideous, fall
" One day upon our heads? while we, perhaps,
" Designing or exhorting glorious war,
" Caught in a fiery tempest, shall be hurl'd,
" Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey
" Of wracking whirlwinds; or for ever sunk
" Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
" There to converse with everlasting groans,
" Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd,
" Ages of hopeless end! This would be worse.
" War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
" My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
" With Him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
" Views all things at one view? He from heav'n's height
" All these our motions vain sees, and derides;
" Not more almighty to resist our might,
" Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
" ' Shall we then live thus vile, the race of heav'n
" ' Thus trampled, thus expell'd, to suffer here
" ' Chains and these torments?' Better these than worse,
" By my advice; since fate inevitable
" Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,—
" The Victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
" Our strength is equal; nor the law unjust
" That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,
" If we were wise, against so great a foe
" Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
" I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold
" And venturous, if that fail them, shrink, and fear
" What yet they know must follow, to endure
" Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
" The sentence of their conqu'ror: this is now
" Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
" Our súpreme foe, in time, may much remit
" His anger; and perhaps, thus far remov'd,
" Not mind us not offending, satisfied

" With what is punish'd; whence these raging fires
" Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
" Our purer essence then will overcome
" Their noxious vapour; or, inur'd, not feel;
" Or, chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
" In temper and in nature, will receive
" Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
" This horror will grow mild, this darkness light;
" Besides what hope the never-ending flight
" Of future days may bring, what chance—what change
" Worth waiting; since our present lot appears
" For happy, though but ill; for ill not worst,
" If we procure not to ourselves more woe."
Thus Belial, with words clothed in reason's garb,
Counsell'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth—
Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.
" Either to disenthrone the King of heaven
" We war, if war be best, or to regain
" Our own right lost: him to unthrone we then
" May hope, when everlasting fate shall yield
" To fickle chance, and Chaos judge the strife:
" The former vain to hope argues as vain
" The latter: for what place can be for us
" Within heaven's bound, unless heaven's Lord supreme
" We overpower? Suppose he should relent,
" And publish grace to all, on promise made
" Of new subjection; with what eyes could we
" Stand in his presence humble, and receive
" Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne
" With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
" Forc'd hallelujahs? while he lordly sits
" Our envied Sovereign, and his altar breathes
" Ambrosial odours, and ambrosial flowers,
" Our servile offerings! This must be our task
" In heaven,—this our delight! How wearisome
" Eternity so spent, in worship paid
" To whom we hate! Let us not then pursue,
" By force impossible, by leave obtain'd

" Unacceptable, though in heaven, our state
" Of splendid vassalage; but rather seek
" Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
" Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
" Free, and to none accountable; preferring
" Hard liberty before the easy yoke
" Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
" Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
" Useful of hurtful, prosperous of advérse,
" We can create; and in what place soe'er
" Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain,
" Through labour and endurance. This deep world
" Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
" Thick clouds and dark doth heaven's all-ruling sire
" Choose to reside, (his glory unobscur'd,)
" And with the majesty of darkness round
" Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
" Must'ring their rage, and heaven resembles hell?
" As he our darkness, cannot we his light
" Imitate when we please? This desert soil
" Wants not her hidden lustre, gems, and gold;
" Nor want we skill, or art, from whence to raise
" Magnificence; and what can heaven show more?
" Our torments also may, in length of time,
" Become our elements; these piercing fires
" As soft, as now severe; our temper changed,
" Into their temper; which must needs remove
" The sensible of pain. All things invite
" To peaceful counsels, and the settled state
" Of order, how in safety best we may
" Compose our present evils, with regard
" Of what we are, and where, dismissing quite
" All thoughts of war. Ye have what I advise."
He scarce had finish'd, when such murmur fill'd
The assembly, as when hollow rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Seafaring men o'er-watch'd, whose bark by chance,

Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay,
After the tempest: such applause was heard
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas'd,
Advising peace; for such another field
They dreaded worse than hell: so much the fear
Of thunder, and the sword of Michaël,
Wrought still within them; and no less desire
To found this nether empire, which might rise,
By policy, and long procéss of time,
In emulation opposite to heaven.
Which when Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom,
Satan except, none higher sat, with grave
Aspéct he rose, and in his rising seem'd
A pillar of state: deep on his front engrav'n
Deliberation sat, and public care;
And princely counsel in his face yet shone,
Majestic, though in ruin: sage he stood,
With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies: his look
Drew audience, and attention still as night,
Or summer's noontide air; while thus he spake.
" Thrones, and Imperial Powers, offspring of heaven,
" Ethereal Virtues! Or these titles now
" Must we renounce, and, changing style, be call'd
" Princes of hell? for so the popular vote
" Inclines, here to continue, and build up here
" A growing empire; doubtless, while we dream,
" And know not that the King of heaven hath doom'd
" This place our dungeon; not our safe retreat
" Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
" From heaven's high jurisdiction, in new league
" Banded against his throne; but to remain
" In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
" Under the inevitable curb, reserv'd
" His captive multitude: for he, be sure,
" In height or depth, still first and last will reign,
" Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part
" By our revolt; but over hell extend

" His empire, and with iron sceptre rule
" Us here, as with his golden, those in heaven.
" What sit we then projecting peace and war?
" War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss
" Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
" Vouchsaf'd, or sought; for what peace will be giv'n
" To us enslav'd, but custody severe,
" And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
" Inflicted? and what peace can we return,
" But, to our power, hostility, and hate,
" Untam'd reluctance, and revenge; though slow,
" Yet ever plotting how the conqueror least
" May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
" In doing what we most in suffering feel?
" Nor will occasion want; nor shall we need,
" With dangerous expedition, to invade
" Heaven, whose high walls fear no assault, or siege,
" Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
" Some easier enterprise? There is a place,
" (If ancient and prophetic fame in heaven
" Err not,) another world, the happy seat
" Of some new race call'd Man, about this time
" To be created like to us, though less
" In power and excellence, but favour'd more
" Of Him who rules above: so was his will
" Pronounc'd among the gods; and by an oath,
" That shook heaven's whole circumference, confirm'd.
" Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
" What creatures there inhabit,—of what mould,
" Or substance,—how endued,—and what their power,
" And where their weakness,—how attempted best,
" By force or subtlety. Though heaven be shut,
" And heaven's high Arbitrator sit secure
" In his own strength, this place may lie expos'd,
" The utmost border of his kingdom, left
" To their defence who hold it: here perhaps
" Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
" By sudden onset; either with hell fire

" To waste his whole creation, or possess
" All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
" The puny habitants; or, if not drive,
" Seduce them to our party, that their God
" May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
" Abolish his own work. This would surpass
" Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
" In our confusion, and our joy upraise
" In his disturbance; when his darling sons,
" Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
" Their frail original, and faded bliss,—
" Faded so soon! Advise, if this be worth
" Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
" Hatching vain empires." Thus Beëlzebub
Pleaded his dev'lish counsel, first devis'd
By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence,
But from the author of all ill, could spring
So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and earth with hell
To mingle and involve; done all to spite
The great Creator? But their spite still serves
His glory to augment. The bold design
Pleas'd highly those infernal states, and joy
Sparkled in all their eyes: with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.
" Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,
" Synod of gods! and, like to what ye are,
" Great things resolv'd; which from the lowest deep
" Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,
" Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view
" Of those bright confines, whence, with neighb'ring arms
" And opportune excursion, we may chance
" Re-enter heaven; or else in some mild zone
" Dwell, not unvisited of heaven's fair light,
" Secure; and at the bright'ning orient beam
" Purge off this gloom: the soft delicious air,
" To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
" Shall breathe her balm. But first, whom shall we send

" In search of this new world? whom shall we find
" Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet
" The dark, unbottom'd, infinite abyss,
" And through the palpable obscure find out
" His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight,
" Upborne with indefatigable wings,
" Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
" The happy isle? What strength, what art, can then
" Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
" Through the strict senteries, and stations thick
" Of angels watching round? Here he had need
" All circumspection, and we now no less
" Choice in our suffrage; for, on whom we send,
" The weight of all, and our last hope, relies."
This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd
To second, or oppose, or undertake,
The perilous attempt: but all sat mute,
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In other's countenance read his own dismay,
Astonish'd: none, among the choice and prime
Of those heaven-warring champions, could be found
So hardy as to proffer, or accept
Alone, the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride,
Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake:
" O progeny of heaven, empyreal Thrones!
" With reason hath deep silence and demur
" Seiz'd us, though undismay'd. Long is the way
" And hard, that out of hell leads up to light:
" Our prison strong, this huge convex of fire,
" Outrageous to devour, immures us round,
" Ninefold; and gates of burning adamant,
" Barr'd over us, prohibit all egress.
" These pass'd, (if any pass,) the void profound
" Of unessential night receives him next
" Wide-gaping, and with utter loss of being

" Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
" If thence he 'scape into whatever world
" Or unknown region, what remains him less
" Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape?
" But I should ill become this throne, O peers,
" And this imperial sov'reignty, adorn'd
" With splendour, arm'd with pow'r, if aught propos'd
" And judg'd of public moment in the shape
" Of difficulty, or danger, could deter
" Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
" These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
" Refusing to accept as great a share
" Of hazard as of honour, due alike
" To him who reigns, and so much to him due
" Of hazard more, as he above the rest
" High honour'd sits? Go, therefore, mighty powers,
" Terror of heaven, though fall'n! intend at home,
" (While here shall be our home,) what best may ease
" The present misery, and render hell
" More tolerable; if there be cure, or charm,
" To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
" Of this ill mansion. Intermit no watch
" Against a wakeful foe; while I abroad,
" Through all the coasts of dark destruction, seek
" Deliverance for us all: this enterprise
" None shall partake with me."
Thus saying, rose
The monarch, and prevented all reply;
Prudent, lest, from his resolution rais'd,
Others among the chief might offer now
(Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd;
And, so refus'd, might in opinion stand
His rivals; winning cheap the high repute,
Which he, through hazard huge, must earn. But they
Dreaded not more the adventure, than his voice
Forbidding; and at once with him they rose.
Their rising all at once was as the sound
Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend

With awful reverence prone; and as a god
Extol him equal to the Highest in heaven:
Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd
That for the general safety he despis'd
His own: for neither do the spirits damn'd
Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
Their specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,
Or close ambition varnish'd o'er with zeal.
Thus they their doubtful consultations dark
Ended, rejoicing in their matchless chief:
As when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the north wind sleeps, o'erspread
Heaven's cheerful face, the lowering element
Scowls o'er the darken'd landscape snow, or shower;
If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest their joy, that hill and valley ring.
O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd
Firm concord holds: men only disagree
Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly grace; and, God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy;
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not hellish foes enow besides,
That day and night for his destruction wait.
The Stygian council thus dissolv'd; and forth
In order came the grand infernal peers:
Midst came their mighty Paramount, and seem'd
Alone the antagonist of heaven, nor less
Than hell's dread emperor, with pomp supreme,
And god-like imitated state: him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim enclos'd,
With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms.
Then of their session ended they bid cry
With trumpets' regal sound the great result:

Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchymy,
By herald's voice explain'd: the hollow abyss
Heard far and wide, and all the host of hell
With deafening shout return'd them loud acclaim.
Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat rais'd
By false presumptuous hope, the ranged powers
Disband, and wandering each his several way
Pursues, as inclination, or sad choice,
Leads him; perplex'd where he may likeliest find
Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
The irksome hours, till his great chief return.
Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
Upon the wing, or in swift race, contend,
As at the Olympian games, or Pythian fields:
Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form:
As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds; before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears,
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of heaven the welkin burns.
Others, with vast Typhœan rage, more fell,
Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind: hell scarce holds the wild uproar:
As when Alcides, from Œchalia crown'd
With conquest, felt the envenom'd robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines,
And Lichas from the top of Œta threw
Into the Euboïc sea. Others, more mild,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
With notes angelical to many a harp
Their own heroic deeds, and hapless fall
By doom of battle; and complain that fate
Free virtue should inthral to force or chance.
Their song was partial; but the harmony
(What could it less, when spirits immortal sing?)

Suspended hell, and took with ravishment
The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet,
(For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)
Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate—
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued then
Of happiness, and final misery,
Passion and apathy, and glory and shame;
Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy!
Yet, with a pleasing sorcery, could charm
Pain for a while, or anguish, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm the obdûred breast
With stubborn patience, as with triple steel.
Another part, in squadrons and gross bands,
On bold adventure to discover wide
That dismal world, (if any clime perhaps
Might yield them easier habitation,) bend
Four ways their flying march, along the banks
Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful streams;
Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron, of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls
Her watery labyrinth; whereof who drinks,
Forthwith his former state and being forgets,—
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
Beyond this flood a frozen continent
Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems
Of ancient pile, or else deep snow and ice;

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
Burns frore, and cold performs the effects of fire.
Thither, by harpy-footed Furies hal'd,
At certain revolutions, all the damn'd
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes—extremes by change more fierce:
From beds of raging fire, to starve in ice
Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immovable, infix'd, and frozen round—
Periods of time; thence hurried back to fire.
They ferry over this Lethean sound
Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment,
And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe—
All in one moment, and so near the brink!
But fate withstands, and, to oppose the attempt,
Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
The ford; and of itself the water flies
All taste of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
In cónfus'd march forlorn, the adventurous bands,
With shuddering horror pale, and eyes aghast,
View'd first their lamentable lot, and found
No rest. Through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous—
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp—
Rocks—caves—lakes—fens—bogs—dens—and shades of death;—
A universe of death! which God by curse
Created evil—for evil only good;
Where all life dies—death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things—
Abominable—inutterable; and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.

Meanwhile, the adversary of God and man,
Satan, with thoughts inflam'd of highest design,
Puts on swift wings, and towards the gates of hell
Explores his solitary flight: sometimes
He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left:
Now shaves with level wing the deep; then soars
Up to the fiery concave, towering high:
As when far off at sea a fleet descried
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate, and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their spicy drugs; they on the trading flood,
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape,
Ply stemming nightly toward the pole: so seem'd
Far off the flying fiend. At last appear
Hell-bounds, high reaching to the horrid roof;
And thrice threefold the gates: three folds were brass,
Three iron, three of adamantine rock,
Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
Yet unconsum'd. Before the gates there sat
On either side a formidable shape:
The one seem'd woman to the waist, and fair;
But ended foul in many a scaly fold,
Voluminous and vast; a serpent arm'd
With mortal sting: about her middle round
A cry of hell-hounds never-ceasing bark'd,
With wide Cerberean mouths, full loud, and rung
A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
If aught disturb'd their noise, into her womb,
And kennel there; yet there still bark'd, and howl'd
Within, unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these
Vex'd Scylla, bathing in the sea that parts
Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore:
Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when, call'd
In secret, riding through the air she comes,
Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
With Lapland witches, while the labouring moon
Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,—

If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as hell,
And shook a dreadful dart: what seem'd his head,
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.
Satan was now at hand: and from his seat
The monster moving onward came as fast
With horrid strides; hell trembled as he strode:
Th' undaunted fiend what this might be admir'd;—
Admir'd,—not fear'd; God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valued he, nor shunn'd;
And, with disdainful look, thus first began:
"Whence, and what art thou, execrable shape!
"That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
"Thy miscreated front athwart my way
"To yonder gates? through them I mean to pass;
"That be assur'd, without leave ask'd of thee:
"Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
"Hell-born! not to contend with spirits of heaven."
To whom the goblin full of wrath replied:
"Art thou that traitor-angel, art thou he,
"Who first broke peace in heaven, and faith, till then
"Unbroken; and in proud, rebellious arms,
"Drew after him the third part of heaven's sons
"Conjur'd against the Highest; for which both thou
"And they, outcast from God, are here condemn'd
"To waste eternal days in woe and pain?
"And reckon'st thou thyself with spirits of heaven,
"Hell-doom'd! and breath'st defiance here and scorn,
"Where I reign king? and, to enrage thee more,—
"Thy king and lord. Back to thy punishment,
"False fugitive! and to thy speed add wings,
"Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
"Thy lingering; or with one stroke of this dart
"Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before."
So spake the grisly terror, and in shape,

So speaking and so threat'ning, grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform. On the other side,
Incens'd with indignation, Satan stood
Unterrified; and like a comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiúchus huge
In the arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
Levell'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands
No second stroke intend; and such a frown
Each cast at th' other, as when two black clouds,
With heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caspian; then stand front to front,
Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
To join their dark encounter in mid air:
So frown'd the mighty combatants, that hell
Grew darker at their frown; so match'd they stood;
For never but once more was either like
To meet so great a foe. And now great deeds
Had been achiev'd, whereof all hell had rung,
Had not the snaky sorceress, that sat
Fast by hell-gate, and kept the fatal key,
Risen, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.
" O father! what intends thy hand," she cried,
" Against thy only son? What fury, O son,
" Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
" Against thy father's head? and know'st for whom;
" For Him who sits above, and laughs the while
" At thee, ordain'd his drudge, to execute
" Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids;—
" His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both."
She spake, and at her words the hellish pest
Forbore; then these to her Satan return'd:
" So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
" Thou interposest, that my sudden hand
" Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
" What it intends; till first I know of thee,
" What thing thou art, thus double-form'd; and why,

" In this infernal vale first met, thou call'st
" Me father, and that phantasm call'st my son:
" I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
" Sight more detestable than him and thee."
To whom thus the portress of hell-gate replied:
" Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
" Now in thine eye so foul? once deem'd so fair
" In heaven, when at the assembly, and in sight
" Of all the Seraphim, with thee combin'd
" In bold conspiracy against heaven's King,
" All on a sudden miserable pain
" Surpris'd thee; dim thine eyes and dizzy swum
" In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
" Threw forth; till, on the left side opening wide,
" Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
" Then shining heavenly fair, a goddess arm'd,
" Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seiz'd
" All the host of heaven; back they recoil'd, afraid
" At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign
" Portentous held me; but, familiar grown,
" I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
" The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
" Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing,
" Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st
" With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
" A growing burden. Meanwhile, war arose,
" And fields were fought in heaven; wherein remain'd
" (For what could else?) to our almighty foe
" Clear victory; to our part loss and rout,
" Through all the empyréan: down they fell,
" Driv'n headlong from the pitch of heaven,—down
" Into this deep; and in the general fall
" I also: at which time this powerful key
" Into my hand was given, with charge to keep
" These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
" Without my opening. Pensive here I sat
" Alone; but long I sat not, till my womb

" Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown,
" Prodigious motion felt, and rueful throes.
" At last this odious offspring whom thou seest,
" Thine own begotten, breaking violent way,
" Tore through my entrails, that, with fear and pain
" Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
" Transform'd: but he my inbred enemy
" Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart,
" Made to destroy. I fled, and cried out ' Death!'
" Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd
" From all her caves, and back resounded—' Death!'
" I fled; but he pursu'd, (though more, it seems,
" Inflam'd with lust than rage,) and, swifter far,
" Me overtook—his mother—all dismay'd,
"And, in embraces forcible and foul,
" Engendering with me, of that rape begot
" These yelling monsters, that, with ceaseless cry,
" Surround me, as thou saw'st; hourly conceiv'd,
" And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
" To me; for, when they list, into the womb
" That bred them they return, and howl, and gnaw
" My bowels, their repast; then, bursting forth
" Afresh, with conscious terrors vex me round,
" That rest or intermission none I find.
" Before mine eyes in opposition sits
" Grim Death, my son and foe, who sets them on,
" And me his parent would full soon devour
" For want of other prey, but that he knows
" His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
" Should prove a bitter morsel and his bane,
" Whenever that shall be; so Fate pronounc'd.
" But thou, O father! I forewarn thee, shun
" His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
" To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
" Though temper'd heavenly; for that mortal dint,
" Save He who reigns above, none can resist."
She finish'd; and the subtle fiend his lore
Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answer'd smooth:

" Dear daughter! since thou claim'st me for thy sire,
" And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge
" Of dalliance had with thee in heaven, and joys
" Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change
" Befall'n us, unforeseen, unthought of; know,
" I come no enemy, but to set free
" From out this dark and dismal house of pain
" Both him and thee, and all the heavenly host
" Of spirits, that in our just pretences arm'd
" Fell with us from on high: from them I go
" This uncouth errand sole; and, one for all,
" Myself expose with lonely steps to tread
" The unfounded deep, and through the void immense
" To search with wandering quest a place foretold
" Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
" Created, vast and round;—a place of bliss
" In the purlieus of heaven, and therein plac'd
" A race of upstart creatures, to supply
" Perhaps our vacant room; though more removed,
" Lest heaven, surcharged with potent multitude,
" Might hap to move new broils. Be this, or aught
" Than this more secret, now design'd, I haste
" To know; and, this once known, shall soon return,
" And bring ye to the place where thou and Death
" Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
" Wing silently the buxom air embalm'd
" With odours: there ye shall be fed and fill'd
" Immeasurably: all things shall be your prey."
He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd; and Death
Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile to hear
His famine should be fill'd; and bless'd his maw
Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoic'd
His mother bad, and thus bespake her sire:
" The key of this infernal pit by due,
" And by command of heaven's all-powerful King,
" I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
" These adamantine gates; against all force

" Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
" Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might.
" But what owe I to his commands above
" Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
" Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
" To sit in hateful office here confin'd,
" Inhabitant of heaven, and heavenly-born;
" Here, in perpetual agony and pain,
" With terrors and with clamours compass'd round
" Of mine own brood that on my bowels feed?
" Thou art my father—thou my author—thou
" My being gav'st me; whom should I obey
" But thee?—whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon
" To that new world of light and bliss, among
" The gods who live at ease, where I shall reign
" At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems
" Thy daughter and thy dārling, without end."
Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,
Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;
And, towards the gate rolling her bestial train,
Forthwith the huge portcullis high up-drew,
Which, but herself, not all the Stygian powers
Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns
The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
Of massy iron, or solid rock, with ease
Unfastens. On a sudden open fly,
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound,
The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut
Excell'd her power: the gates wide open stood,
That with extended wings a banner'd host,
Under spread ensigns marching, might pass through
With horse and chariots rank'd in loose array;
So wide they stood and, like a furnace-mouth,
Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.
Before their eyes in sudden view appear
The secrets of the hoary deep; a dark

Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimension; where length, breadth, and height,
And time, and place, are lost; where eldest Night
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
For Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, four champions fierce,
Strive here for mastery, and to battle bring
Their embryon atoms; they around the flag
Of each his faction, in their several clans,
Light-arm'd, or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift, or slow,
Swarm populous, (unnumber'd as the sands
Of Barca, or Cyrene's torrid soil,
Levied to side with warring winds,) and poise
Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,
He rules a moment: Chaos umpire sits,
And by decision more embroils the fray
By which he reigns: next him high arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wild abyss,
The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,
Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
But all these in their pregnant causes mix'd
Confus'dly; and which thus must ever fight,
Unless the Almighty Maker them ordain
His dark materials to create more worlds;
Into this wild abyss, the wary fiend
Stood on the brink of hell, and look'd a while,
Pondering his voyage; for no narrow frith
He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd
With noises loud and ruinous, (to compare
Great things with small,) than when Bellona storms,
With all her batt'ring engines bent to rase
Some capital city; or less than if this frame
Of heaven were falling, and these elements
In mutiny had from her axle torn
The steadfast earth. At last his sail-broad vans
He spreads for flight, and, in the surging smoke
Uplifted, spurns the ground; thence many a league,

As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides
Audacious; but, that seat soon failing, meets
A vast vacuity: all unawares,
Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops
Ten thousand fathom deep; and to this hour
Down had been falling, had not, by ill chance,
The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud
Instinct with fire and nitre hurried him
As many miles aloft: that fury staid,
Quench'd in a boggy syrtis, neither sea,
Nor good dry land; nigh founder'd on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence,—half on foot,—
Half flying; behoves him now both oar and sail.
As when a gryphon, through the wilderness
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale
Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
The guarded gold: so eagerly the fiend
O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.
At length a universal hubbub wild
Of stunning sounds, and voices all confus'd,
Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
With loudest vehemence: thither he plies,
Undaunted, to meet there whatever power
Or spirit of the nethermost abyss
Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies
Bordering on light: when straight behold the throne
Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread
Wide on the wasteful deep! With him enthron'd
Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The consort of his reign; and by them stood
Orcus, and Ades, and the dreaded name
Of Demogorgon! Rumour next, and Chance,
And Tumult, and Confusion, all embroil'd,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths!

To whom Satan, turning boldly, thus: "Ye Powers,
"And Spirits of this nethermost abyss,
"Chaos and ancient Night! I come no spy,
"With purpose to explore, or to disturb
"The secrets of your realm; but, by constraint
"Wandering this darksome desert, as my way
"Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
"Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek
"What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
"Confine with heaven; or if some other place,
"From your dominion won, the ethereal King
"Possesses lately, thither to arrive
"I travel this profound: direct my course:
"Directed, no mean recompense it brings
"To your behoof, if I that region lost,
"All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
"To her original darkness, and your sway;
"(Which is my present journey;) and once more
"Erect the standard there of ancient Night:
"Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge!"
Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltering speech, and visage incompos'd,
Answer'd: "I know thee, stranger, who thou art;—
"That mighty leading angel, who of late
"Made head against heaven's King, though overthrown.
"I saw, and heard; for such a numerous host
"Fled not in silence through the frighted deep,
"With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
"Confusion worse confounded; and heaven-gates
"Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
"Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here
"Keep residence; if all I can will serve
"That little which is left so to defend,
"Encroach'd on still through your intestine broils
"Weak'ning the sceptre of old Night: first hell,
"Your dungeon, stretching far and wide beneath;
"Now lately heaven and earth, another world,
"Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain

" To that side heaven from whence your legions fell.
" If that way be your walk, you have not far;
" So much the nearer danger: go, and speed!
" Havoc, and spoil, and ruin, are my gain."
He ceas'd; and Satan staid not to reply,
But, glad that now his sea should find a shore,
With fresh alacrity, and force renew'd,
Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire,
Into the wild expanse; and, through the shock
Of fighting elements, on all sides round
Environ'd, wins his way: harder beset,
And more endanger'd, than when Argo pass'd
Through Bosphorus, betwixt the justling rocks:
Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunn'd
Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steer'd.
So he with difficulty and labour hard
Mov'd on; with difficulty and labour he.
But, he once past, soon after, when man fell,
Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
Following his track,—such was the will of Heav'n,—
Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyss, whose boiling gulf
Tamely endur'd a bridge of wondrous length,
From hell continued, reaching the utmost orb
Of this frail world; by which the spirits perverse,
With easy intercourse, pass to and fro
To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
God and good angels guard by special grace.
But now at last the sacred influence
Of light appears, and from the walls of heaven
Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night
A glimmering dawn: here Nature first begins
Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire,
As from her outmost works, a broken foe,
With tumult less, and with less hostile din;
That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
And, like a weather-beaten vessel, holds

Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;
Or in the emptier waste resembling air
Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
Far off the empyreal heaven, extended wide
In circuit, (undetermin'd square or round,)
With opal towers and battlements adorn'd
Of living sapphire, once his native seat!
And fast by, hanging in a golden chain,
This pendent world, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.
Thither, full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurs'd, and in a cursed hour, he hies.

BOOK III.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK III.

Hail, holy Light! offspring of heaven first born!
Or of the Eternal coeternal beam
May I express thee unblam'd? since God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity; dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright essence increate!
Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream,
Whose fountain who shall tell? Before the sun,—
Before the heavens thou wert; and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle, didst invest
The rising world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite.
Thee I revisit now with bolder wing,
Escap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd
In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight,
Through utter and through middle darkness borne,
With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre,
I sung of Chaos, and eternal Night;
Taught by the heavenly Muse to venture down
The dark descent, and up to re-ascend,
Though hard and rare. Thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy sovereign vital lamp; but thou

Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
So thick a Drop-serene hath quench'd their orbs,
Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more
Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief
Thee, Sion, and the flowery brooks beneath
That wash thy hallowed feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I visit: nor sometimes forget
Those other two equall'd with me in fate,
So were I equall'd with them in renown,
Blind Thamyris, and blind Mæonides,
And Tiresias, and Phineus, prophets old;
Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid
Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year
Seasons return; but not to me returns
Day, or the sweet approach of even, or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off! and, for the book of knowledge fair,
Presented with a universal blank
Of nature's works, to me expung'd and ras'd,
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out!
So much the rather thou, celestial light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate; there plant eyes; all mist from thence
Purge and disperse; that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.

Now had the Almighty Father from above,
From the pure empyréan where he sits
High thron'd above all height, bent down his eye,
His own works, and their works, at once to view.

About him all the sanctities of heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv'd
Beatitude past utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son. On earth he first beheld
Our two first parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love—
Uninterrupted joy—unrivall'd love,
In blissful solitude. He then survey'd
Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the wall of heaven on this side night,
In the dun air sublime; and ready now
To stoop with wearied wings, and willing feet,
On the bare outside of this world, that seem'd
Firm land imbosom'd without firmament;
Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,
Thus to his only Son, foreseeing, spake:
" Only begotten Son! seest thou what rage
" Transports our adversary? whom no bounds
" Prescrib'd, no bars of hell, nor all the chains
" Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyss
" Wide interrupt, can hold; so bent he seems
" On desperate revenge, that shall redound
" Upon his own rebellious head. And now,
" Through all restraint broke loose, he wings his way
" Not far off heaven, in the precincts of light,
" Directly towards the new-created world,
" And man there plac'd, with purpose to essay
" If him by force he can destroy, or, worse,
" By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert:
" For man will hearken to his glozing lies,
" And easily transgress the sole command,
" Sole pledge of his obedience: so will fall,
" He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
" Whose but his own? Ingrate! he had of me

" All he could have; I made him just and right,
" Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
" Such I created all the ethereal Powers
" And spirits, both them who stood, and them who fail'd;
" Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
" Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
" Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love,
" Where only what they needs must do appear'd,
" Not what they would? What praise could they receive?
" What pleasure I from such obedience paid;
" When will and reason (reason also is choice)
" Useless and vain,—of freedom both despoil'd,—
" Made passive both,—had serv'd necessity,
" Not me? They therefore, as to right belong'd,
" So were created; nor can justly accuse
" Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
" As if predestination over-rul'd
" Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree,
" Or high foreknowledge. They themselves decreed
" Their own revolt, not I: if I foreknew,
" Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
" Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
" So, without least impulse, or shadow of fate,
" Or aught by me immutably foreseen,
" They trespass; authors to themselves in all,
" Both what they judge, and what they choose; for so
" I form'd them, free; and free they must remain,
" Till they enthral themselves: I else must change
" Their nature, and revoke the high decree
" Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
" Their freedom: they themselves ordain'd their fall.
" The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
" Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: man falls, deceiv'd
" By the other first: man therefore shall find grace,
" The other none: in mercy and justice both,
" Through heaven and earth, so shall my glory excel:
" But mercy, first and last, shall brightest shine."

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
All heaven, and in the blessed spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd.
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious: in him all his Father shone
Substantially express'd; and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without measure grace;
Which uttering, thus he to his Father spake:
"O Father! gracious was that word which clos'd
"Thy sovereign sentence, that man should find grace;
"For which both heaven and earth shall high extol
"Thy praises, with the innumerable sound
"Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
"Encompass'd shall resound thee ever blest.
"For should man finally be lost? should man,
"Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest son,
"Fall, circumvented thus by fraud though join'd
"With his own folly? That be from thee far,
"That far be from thee, Father, who art judge
"Of all things made, and judgest only right.
"Or shall the adversary thus obtain
"His end, and frustrate thine? shall he fulfil
"His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought;
"Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,
"Yet with revenge accomplish'd, and to hell
"Draw after him the whole race of mankind
"By him corrupted? Or wilt thou thyself
"Abolish thy creation, and unmake
"For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?
"So should thy goodness and thy greatness both
"Be question'd, and blasphem'd without defence."
To whom the great Creator thus replied:
"O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,
"Son of my bosom, Son who art alone
"My word, my wisdom, and effectual might!
"All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all
"As my eternal purpose hath decreed.

" Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will;
" Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
" Freely vouchsaf'd: once more I will renew
" His lapsed powers, though forfeit, and enthrall'd
" By sin to foul exorbitant desires;
" Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
" On even ground against his mortal foe;
" By me upheld, that he may know how frail
" His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
" All his deliv'rance, and to none but me.
" Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,
" Elect above the rest; so is my will:
" The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd
" Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
" The incensed Deity, while offer'd grace
" Invites: for I will clear their senses dark,
" What may suffice; and soften stony hearts
" To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
" To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
" Though but endeavour'd with sincere intent,
" Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
" And I will place within them as a guide,
" My umpire, conscience; whom if they will hear,
" Light after light, well us'd, they shall attain,
" And, to the end persisting, safe arrive.
" This my long sufferance, and my day of grace,
" They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
" But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,
" That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
" And none but such from mercy I exclude.
" But yet all is not done: man disobeying,
" Disloyal, breaks his feälty, and sins
" Against the high supremacy of Heaven,
" Affecting godhead, and, so losing all,
" To expiate his treason hath nought left;
" But, to destruction sacred and devote,
" He, with his whole posterity, must die:
" Die he or justice must; unless for him

" Some other able, and as willing, pay
" The rigid satisfaction—death for death.
" Say, heavenly Powers, where shall we find such love?
" Which of ye will be mortal, to redeem
" Man's mortal crime; and just, the unjust to save?
" Dwells in all heaven charity so dear?"
He ask'd, but all the heavenly quire stood mute,
And silence was in heaven: on man's behalf
Patron or intercessor none appear'd;
Much less that durst upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.
And now, without redemption, all mankind
Must have been lost, adjudg'd to death and hell
By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulness dwells of love divine,
His dearest mediation thus renew'd.
" Father! Thy word is past, man shall find grace:
" And shall grace not find means, that finds her way
" The speediest of thy winged messengers
" To visit all thy creatures; and to all
" Comes unprevented, unimplored, unsought?
" Happy for man, so coming! He her aid
" Can never seek, once dead in sins, and lost—
" Atonement for himself, or offering meet,
" (Indebted, and undone!) hath none to bring.
" Behold me, then; me for him, life for life,
" I offer; on me let thine anger fall:
" Account me man; I for his sake will leave
" Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
" Freely put off, and for him lastly die
" Well pleas'd: on me let Death wreak all his rage;
" Under his gloomy power I shall not long
" Lie vanquish'd: thou hast given me to possess
" Life in myself for ever: by thee I live,
" Though now to Death I yield, and am his due,
" All that of me can die: yet, that debt paid,
" Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave
" His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul

" For ever with corruption there to dwell:
" But I shall rise victorious, and subdue
" My vanquisher spoil'd of his vaunted spoil:
" Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stoop
" Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm'd.
" I, through the ample air, in triumph high
" Shall lead Hell captive, maugre hell, and show
" The Powers of darkness bound. Thou, at the sight
" Pleas'd, out of heaven shalt look down, and smile,
" While, by thee rais'd, I ruin all my foes—
" Death last, and with his carcass glut the grave:
" Then, with the multitude of my redeem'd,
" Shall enter heaven, long absent, and return,
" Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud
" Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd
" And reconcilement: wrath shall be no more
" Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire."
His words here ended, but his meek aspect
Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
To mortal men; above which only shone
Filial obedience: as a sacrifice
Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will
Of his great Father. Admiration seiz'd
All heaven, what this might mean, and whither tend,
Wondering; but soon the Almighty thus replied.
" O thou, in heaven and earth the only peace
" Found out for mankind under wrath! O thou,
" My sole complacence! well thou knowest how dear
" To me are all my works, nor man the least,
" Though last created; that for him I spare
" Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,
" By losing thee awhile, the whole race lost.
" Thou therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,
" Their nature also to thy nature join;
" And be thyself man among men on earth,
" Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,
" By wondrous birth: be thou in Adam's room
" The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.

" As in him perish all men, so in thee,
" As from a second root, shall be restor'd
" As many as are restor'd; without thee none.
" His crime makes guilty all his sons; thy merit,
" Imputed, shall absolve them who renounce
" Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
" And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
" Receive new life. So man, as is most just,
" Shall satisfy for man, be judg'd and die;
" And dying rise, and rising with him raise
" His brethren, ransom'd with his own dear life.
" So heavenly love shall outdo hellish hate,
" Giving to death, and dying to redeem—
" So dearly to redeem, what hellish hate
" So easily destroy'd, and still destroys
" In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
" Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume
" Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.
" Because thou hast, though thron'd in highest bliss
" Equal to God, and equally enjoying
" God-like fruition, quitted all, to save
" A world from utter loss, and hast been found,
" By merit more than birthright, Son of God—
" Found worthiest to be so, by being good,
" Far more than great, or high;—because in thee
" Love hath abounded more than glory abounds;
" Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
" With thee thy manhood also to this throne:
" Here shalt thou sit incarnate—here shalt reign
" Both God and man, Son both of God and man,
" Anointed universal King: all power
" I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
" Thy merits; under thee, as head supreme,
" Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions, I reduce:
" All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
" In heaven, or earth, or under earth in hell.
" When thou, attended gloriously from heaven,
" Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send

"The summoning Archangels to proclaim
"Thy dread tribunal; forthwith, from all winds,
"The living, and forthwith the cited dead
"Of all past ages, to the general doom
"Shall hasten; such a peal shall rouse their sleep!
"Then, all thy saints assembled, thou shalt judge
"Bad men and angels; they, arraign'd, shall sink
"Beneath thy sentence: Hell, her numbers full,
"Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Meanwhile
"The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring
"New heaven and earth, wherein the just shall dwell;
"And, after all their tribulations long,
"See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
"With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth:
"Then thou thy regal sceptre shalt lay by,
"For regal sceptre then no more shall need;
"God shall be all in all. But, all ye gods,
"Adore him who, to compass all this, dies;—
"Adore the Son, and honour him as me."
No sooner had the Almighty ceas'd, but all
The multitude of angels, with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest voices uttering joy, heaven rung
With jubilee, and loud hosannas fill'd
The eternal regions. Lowly reverent
Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground,
With solemn adoration, down they cast
Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold—
Immortal amarant, a flower which once
In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
Began to bloom; but soon for man's offence
To heaven remov'd, where first it grew, there grows,
And flowers aloft, shading the fount of life,
And where the river of bliss, through midst of heaven,
Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream:
With these, that never fade, the spirits elect
Bind their resplendent locks, inwreath'd with beams;
Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright

Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,
Impurpled with celestial roses smiled.
Then, crown'd again, their golden harps they took—
Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side
Like quivers hung; and, with preamble sweet
Of charming symphony, they introduce
Their sacred song, and waken raptures high:
No voice exempt—no voice but well could join
Melodious part: such concord is in heaven.
Thee, Father, first they sung, Omnipotent—
Immutable—Immortal—Infinite—
Eternal King! Thee, Author of all being,
Fountain of light, thyself invisible
Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitt'st
Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle heaven, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
Thee next they sang of all creation first,
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude!
In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud
Made visible, the Almighty Father shines,
Whom else no creature can behold; on thee
Impress'd, the effulgence of his glory abides;
Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.
He heaven of heavens, and all the Powers therein,
By thee created; and by thee threw down
The aspiring Dominations: thou that day
Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare;
Nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels, that shook
Heaven's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks
Thou drov'st of warring angels disarrayed.
Back from pursuit thy Powers with loud acclaim
Thee only extoll'd, Son of thy Father's might,
To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,—
Not so on man: him, through their malice fallen,

Father of mercy and grace! thou didst not doom
So strictly, but much more to pity incline.
No sooner did thy dear and only Son
Perceive thee purposed not to doom frail man
So strictly, but much more to pity inclin'd,
He, to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
Of mercy and justice in thy face discern'd,
Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
Second to thee, offer'd himself to die
For man's offence. O unexampled love,
Love nowhere to be found less than divine!
Hail, Son of God, Saviour of men! Thy name
Shall be the copious matter of my song
Henceforth, and never shall my harp thy praise
Forget, nor from thy Father's praise disjoin.
Thus they in heaven, above the starry sphere,
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.

Meanwhile upon the firm opacous globe
Of this round world, whose first convex divides
The luminous inferior orbs, enclos'd
From Chaos, and the inroad of darkness old,
Satan alighted walks. A globe far off
It seem'd; now seems a boundless continent,
Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of night
Starless expos'd, and ever-threatening storms
Of Chaos blustering round, inclement sky;
Save on that side which, from the wall of heaven,
Though distant far, some small reflection gains
Of glimmering air, less vex'd with tempest loud:
Here walked the fiend at large in spacious field.
As when a vulture on Imaüs bred,
Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
Dislodging from a region scarce of prey,
To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids
On hills where flocks are fed, flies toward the springs
Of Ganges, or Hydaspes, Indian streams;
But in his way lights on the barren plains

Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
With sails and wind their cany waggons light:
So, on this windy sea of land, the fiend
Walk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey;
Alone, for other creature in this place,
Living, or lifeless, to be found was none—
None yet, but store hereafter from the earth
Up hither, like aërial vapours, flew
Of all things transitory and vain, when sin
With vanity had fill'd the works of men;
Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
Built their fond hopes of glory, or lasting fame,
Or happiness in this, or the other life:
All who have their reward on earth, the fruits
Of painful superstition, and blind zeal,
Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find
Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
All the unaccomplish'd works of Nature's hand,
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd,
Dissolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
Till final dissolution, wander here:
(Not in the neighbouring moon, as some have dream'd;
Those argent fields more likely habitants,
Translated saints, or middle spirits, hold,
Betwixt the angelical and human kind:)
Hither, of ill-join'd sons and daughters born,
First from the ancient world those giants came
With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd:
The builders next of Babel on the plain
Of Sennaär,—and still with vain design
New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build:
Others came single; he, who, to be deem'd
A god, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames,
Empedocles; and he, who, to enjoy
Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the sea,
Cleombrotus; and many more too long,
Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars
White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery.

Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek
In Golgotha him dead, who lives in heaven;
And they, who, to be sure of Paradise,
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd;
They pass the planets seven, and pass the fix'd,
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talk'd, and that first mov'd;
And now Saint Peter at heaven's wicket seems
To wait them with his keys, and now at foot
Of heaven's ascent they lift their feet, when, lo!
A violent cross wind from either coast
Blows them transverse, ten thousand leagues awry
Into the devious air: then might ye see
Cowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost
And flutter'd into rags; then relics, beads,
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
The sport of winds. All these, upwhirl'd aloft,
Fly o'er the backside of the world far off,
Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd
The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
All this dark globe the fiend found as he pass'd;
And long he wander'd, till at last a gleam
Of dawning light turn'd thitherward in haste
His travell'd steps: far distant he descries,
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of heaven, a structure high;
At top whereof, but far more rich, appeared
The work as of a kingly palace-gate,
With frontispiece of diamond and gold
Embellish'd; thick with sparkling orient gems
The portal shone, inimitable on earth,
By model, or by shading pencil, drawn.
The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw
Angels ascending and descending, bands
Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz,

Dreaming by night under the open sky,
And waking cried, "This is the gate of heaven."
Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
There always, but drawn up to heaven sometimes
Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flow'd
Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
Who after came from earth, sailing arriv'd,
Wafted by angels; or flew o'er the lake
Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.
The stairs were then let down, whether to dare
The fiend by easy ascent, or aggravate
His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss:
Direct against which open'd from beneath,
Just o'er the blissful seat of Paradise,
A passage down to the earth—a passage wide—
Wider by far than that of after-times
Over mount Sion, and, though that were large,
Over the Promis'd Land, to God so dear;
By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,
On high behests, his angels to and fro
Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard,
From Panëas, the fount of Jordan's flood,
To Beërsaba, where the Holy Land
Borders on Egypt and the Arabian shore:
So wide the op'ning seem'd, where bounds were set
To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.
Satan from hence, now on the lower stair,
That scal'd by steps of gold to heaven-gate,
Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
Of all this world at once. As when a scout,
Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First seen, or some renown'd metropolis
With glistering spires and pinnacles adorn'd,
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams:

Such wonder seiz'd, though after heaven seen,
The spirit malign; but much more envy seiz'd,
At sight of all this world beheld so fair.
Round he surveys, (and well might, where he stood
So high above the circling canopy
Of night's extended shade,) from eastern point
Of Libra, to the fleecy star that bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic seas,
Beyond th' horizon: then from pole to pole
He views in breadth; and, without longer pause,
Downright into the world's first region throws
His flight precipitant, and winds with ease
Through the pure marble air his oblique way,
Amongst innumerable stars, that shone
Stars distant, but nigh hand seem'd other worlds;
Or other worlds they seem'd, or happy isles,
Like those Hesperian gardens fam'd of old,
Fortunate fields, and groves, and flowery vales,
Thrice-happy isles! But who dwelt happy there
He staid not to inquire. Above them all
The golden sun, in splendour likest heaven,
Allur'd his eye; thither his course he bends
Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
By centre or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude,) where the great luminary,
Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
Dispenses light from far: they, as they move
Their starry dance in numbers that compute
Days, months, and years, towards his all-cheering lamp
Turn swift their various motions, or are turn'd
By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
The universe, and to each inward part
With gentle penetration, though unseen,
Shoots invisible virtue even to the deep;
So wondrously was set his station bright.
There lands the fiend, a spot like which, perhaps
Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb,

Through his glaz'd optic tube, yet never saw.
The place he found beyond expression bright,
Compar'd with aught on earth, metal or stone:
Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd
With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire;
If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear;
If stone, carbuncle most, or chrysolite,
Ruby, or topaz, to the twelve that shone
In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides
Imagin'd rather oft than elsewhere seen—
That stone, or like to that, which here below
Philosophers in vain so long have sought—
In vain, though by their powerful art they bind
Volatile Hermes, and call up unbound,
In various shapes, old Proteus from the sea,
Drain'd through a limbeck to his native form.
What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers run
Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
The arch-chymic sun, so far from us remote,
Produces, with terrestrial humour mix'd,
Here in the dark so many precious things
Of colour glorious, and effect so rare?
Here matter new to gaze the devil met
Undazzl'd; far and wide his eye commands;
For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade,
But all sun-shine, as when his beams at noon
Culminate from the equator, as they now
Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
Shadow from body opaque can fall; and the air,
Nowhere so clear, sharpened his visual ray
To objects distant far, whereby he soon
Saw within ken a glorious angel stand—
The same whom John saw also in the sun;
His back was turned, but not his brightness hid;
Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar
Circled his head, nor less his locks behind,
Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings,

Lay waving round: on some great charge employ'd
He seem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.
Glad was the spirit impure, as now in hope
To find who might direct his wandering flight
To Paradise, the happy seat of man,
His journey's end, and our beginning woe.
But first he casts to change his proper shape,
Which else might work him danger or delay:
And now a stripling Cherub he appears,
Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
Youth smil'd celestial; and to every limb
Suitable grace diffus'd; so well he feign'd:
Under a coronet his flowing hair
In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore,
Of many a colour'd plume, sprinkled with gold;
His habit fit for speed succinct; and held
Before his decent steps a silver wand.
He drew not nigh unheard; the angel bright,
Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turn'd,
Admonish'd by his ear; and straight was known
The Archangel Uriel, one of the seven
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the heavens, or down to the earth
Bear his swift errands, over moist and dry,
O'er sea and land: him Satan thus accosts.
" Uriel! for thou of those seven spirits that stand
" In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright,
" The first art wont his great authentic will
" Interpreter through highest heaven to bring,
" Where all his sons thy embassy attend;
" And here art likeliest, by supreme decree,
" Like honour to obtain, and, as his eye,
" To visit oft this new creation round:
" Unspeakable desire to see, and know,
" All these his wondrous works, but chiefly man,
" His chief delight and favour—him for whom
" All these his works so wondrous he ordained,

" Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim
" Alone thus wandering. Brightest Seraph! tell
" In which of all these shining orbs hath man
" His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
" But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell;
" That I may find him, and, with secret gaze,
" Or open admiration, him behold,
" On whom the great Creator hath bestow'd
" Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces pour'd;
" That both in him and all things, as is meet,
" The universal Maker we may praise,
" Who justly hath driven out his rebel foes
" To deepest hell; and, to repair that loss,
" Created this new happy race of men
" To serve Him better. Wise are all his ways!"
So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd:
For neither man, nor angel, can discern
Hypocrisy, (the only evil that walks
Invisible, except to God alone,
By his permissive will, through heaven and earth;
And oft, though Wisdom wake, Suspicion sleeps
At Wisdom's gate, and to Simplicity
Resigns her charge, while Goodness thinks no ill
Where no ill seems,) which now for once beguil'd
Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held
The sharpest-sighted spirit of all in heaven;
Who to the fraudulent impostor foul,
In his uprightness answer thus return'd.
" Fair angel! thy desire, which tends to know
" The works of God, thereby to glorify
" The great Work-master, leads to no excess
" That reaches blame, but rather merits praise,
" The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
" From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,
" To witness with thine eyes what some, perhaps,
" Contented with report, hear only in heaven:
" For wonderful indeed are all his works,
" Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all

" Had in remembrance always with delight!
" But what created mind can comprehend
" Their number; or the wisdom infinite
" That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep?
" I saw when, at his word, the formless mass,
" The world's material mould, came to a heap:
" Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar
" Stood rul'd; stood vast infinitude confin'd:
" Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
" Light shone, and order from disorder sprang!
" Swift to their several quarters hasted then
" The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire;
" And this ethereal quintessence of heaven
" Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
" That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars
" Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;
" Each had his place appointed, each his course:
" The rest in circuit walls this universe.
" Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
" With light from hence, though but reflected, shines:
" That place is earth, the seat of man; that light
" His day, which else, as the other hemisphere,
" Night would invade; but there the neighbouring moon
" (So call that opposite fair star) her aid
" Timely interposes; and her monthly round
" Still ending, still renewing, through mid heaven
" With borrow'd light her countenance triform
" Hence fills, and empties, to enlighten the earth;
" And in her pale dominion checks the night.
" That spot to which I point is Paradise,
" Adam's abode; those lofty shades, his bower.
" Thy way thou canst not miss—me mine requires."
Thus said, he turn'd; and Satan, bowing low,
(As to superior spirits is wont in heaven,
Where honour due, and reverence, none neglects,)
Took leave, and toward the coast of earth beneath,
Down from the ecliptic, sped with hop'd success,
Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
Nor staid, till on Niphates' top he lights.

BOOK IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

SATAN, now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair: but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise, whose outward prospect and situation is described; overleaps the bounds: sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden described; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation, by seducing them to transgress; then leaves them awhile to know further of their state by some other means. Meanwhile Uriel descending on a sun-beam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil spirit had escaped the deep, and passed at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: their bower described; their evening worship. Gabriel, drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom questioned, he scornfully answers; prepares resistance; but, hindered by a sign from heaven, flies out of Paradise.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

O, FOR that warning voice! which he who saw
The Apocalypse heard cry in heaven aloud,
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men;
" Woe to th' inhabitants on earth!"—that now,
While time was, our first parents had been warn'd
The coming of their secret foe, and 'scap'd—
Haply so 'scap'd, his mortal snare! for now
Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,
The tempter, ere the accuser, of mankind,
To wreak on innocent frail man his loss
Of that first battle, and his flight to hell:
Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold
Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,
Begins his dire attempt; which nigh the birth
Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breast,
And like a devilish engine back recoils
Upon himself: horror and doubt distract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
The hell within him; for within him hell
He brings, and round about him; nor from hell
One step, no more than from himself, can fly,

By change of place: now conscience wakes despair,
That slumber'd—wakes the bitter memory
Of what he was, what is, and what must be—
Worse: of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
Sometimes towards Eden, which now in his view
Lay pleasant, his griev'd look he fixed sad;
Sometimes towards heaven, and the full-blazing sun
Which now sat high in his meridian tower:
Then, much revolving, thus in sighs began.
" O thou, that, with surpassing glory crown'd,
" Look'st from thy sole dominion like the god
" Of this new world! at whose sight all the stars
" Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call,
" But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
" O sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
" That bring to my remembrance from what state
" I fell—how glorious once above thy sphere,
" Till pride, and worse ambition threw me down,
" Warring in heaven against heaven's matchless King!
" Ah, wherefore! He deserv'd no such return
" From me, whom he created what I was
" In that bright eminence, and with his good
" Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.
" What could be less than to afford him praise,
" The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
" How due! Yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
" And wrought but malice: lifted up so high
" I 'sdain'd subjection, and thought one step higher
" Would set me highest, and in a moment quit
" The debt immense of endless gratitude,
" So burdensome, still paying, still to owe;
" Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd;
" And understood not that a grateful mind
" By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
" Indebted and discharg'd; what burden then?
" O had his powerful destiny ordain'd
" Me some inferior angel, I had stood
" Then happy! no unbounded hope had rais'd

" Ambition. Yet, why not? some other power
" As great might have aspir'd, and me, though mean,
" Drawn to his part: but other powers as great
" Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within,
" Or from without, to all temptations arm'd.
" Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand?
" Thou hadst. Whom hast thou then, or what, to accuse,
" But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all?
" Be then his love accurs'd! since, love or hate
" To me alike, it deals eternal woe.
" Nay, curs'd be thou! since, against his, thy will
" Chose freely what it now so justly rues.
" Me miserable! which way shall I fly
" Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?
" Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell;
" And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep
" Still threatening to devour me, opens wide,
" To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven.
" O, then, at last relent! Is there no place
" Left for repentance? none for pardon left?—
" None left, but by submission! and that word
" Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
" Among the spirits beneath, whom I seduc'd
" With other promises, and other vaunts
" Than to submit, boasting I could subdue
" The Omnipotent! Ah me! they little know
" How dearly I abide that boast so vain;
" Under what torments inwardly I groan,
" While they adore me on the throne of hell;
" With diadem and sceptre high advanc'd,
" The lower still I fall, only supreme
" In misery: such joy ambition finds.
" But say I could repent, and could obtain,
" By act of grace, my former state; how soon
" Would height recall high thoughts, how soon unsay
" What feign'd submission swore: ease would recant
" Vows made in pain, as violent and void;
" For never can true reconcilement grow

" Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep
" Which would but lead me to a worse relapse,
" And heavier fall: so should I purchase dear
" Short intermission, bought with double smart.
" This knows my punisher; therefore as far
" From granting he, as I from begging peace.
" All hope excluded thus, behold, (instead
" Of us, outcast, exil'd,) his new delight,
" Mankind, created, and for him this world.
" So farewell hope! and with hope, farewell fear!
" Farewell remorse! all good to me is lost:
" Evil, be thou my good! by thee, at least
" Divided empire with heaven's King I hold—
" By thee, and more than half perhaps, will reign;
" As man ere long, and this new world, shall know."
Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face,
Thrice chang'd with pale ire, envy, and despair;
Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld;
For heavenly minds from such distempers foul
Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware,
Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calm,
Artificer of fraud! and was the first
That practis'd falsehood under saintly show,
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:
Yet not enough had practis'd to deceive
Uriel once warn'd; whose eye pursued him down
The way he went, and on the Assyrian mount
Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befal
Spirit of happy sort: his gestures fierce
He mark'd, and mad demeanour, then alone,
As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen.
So, on he fares; and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,
As with a rural mound, the champaign head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,

Access denied; and over-head up-grew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm—
A sylvan scene; and, as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade—a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
The verdurous wall of Paradise up-sprung;
Which to our general Sire gave prospect large
Into his nether empire neighbouring round:
And higher than that wall a circling row
Of goodliest trees, loaden with fairest fruit;
Blossoms and fruits at once, of golden hue,
Appear'd, with gay enamell'd colours mix'd;
On which the sun more glad impress'd his beams
Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow,
When God hath shower'd the earth; so lovely seem'd
That landscape; and of pure, now purer air
Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All sadness but despair: now gentle gales,
Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabëan odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest; with such delay
Well pleas'd they slack their course, and, many a league,
Cheer'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles:
So entertain'd those odorous sweets the fiend,
Who came their bane: though with them better pleas'd
Than Asmodëus with the fishy fume
That drove him, though enamour'd, from the spouse
Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.
Now to the ascent of that steep savage hill
Satan had journey'd on, pensive and slow;
But further way found none, so thick entwin'd,

As one continued brake, the undergrowth
Of shrubs, and tangling bushes, had perplex'd
All path of man, or beast, that pass'd that way.
One gate there only was, and that look'd east
On th' other side: which when the arch-felon saw,
Due entrance he disdain'd; and, in contempt,
At one slight bound high over-leap'd all bound
Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve,
In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,
Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold:
Or as a thief bent to unhoard the cash
Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,
Cross-barr'd and bolted fast, fear no assault,
In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles;
So clomb the first grand thief into God's fold;
So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.
Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,
(The middle tree and highest there that grew,)
Sat like a cormorant: yet not true life
Thereby regain'd, but sat devising death
To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought
Of that life-giving plant, but only us'd
For prospect what, well us'd, had been the pledge
Of immortality. So little knows
Any, but God alone, to value right
The good before him, but perverts best things
To worst abuse, or to their meanest use.
  Beneath him, with new wonder, now he views,
To all delight of human sense expos'd
In narrow room, nature's whole wealth; yea more,
A heaven on earth! for blissful Paradise
Of God the garden was, by him in th' east
Of Eden planted: Eden stretch'd her line
From Auran eastward to the royal towers
Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,

Or where the sons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telassar: in this pleasant soil
His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd.
Out of the fertile ground he caus'd to grow
All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
And all amid them stood the tree of life,
High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
Of vegetable gold; and next to life,
Our death, the tree of knowledge, grew fast by—
Knowledge of good, bought dear by knowing ill!
Southward through Eden went a river large,
Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy hill
Pass'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown
That mountain as his garden-mould, high-rais'd
Upon the rapid current, which, through veins
Of porous earth, with kindly thirst up-drawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
Water'd the garden; thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
Which from his darksome passage now appears;
And, now divided into four main streams,
Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm
And country, whereof here needs no account;
But rather to tell how, if art could tell—
How from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl, and sands of gold,
With mazy error under pendent shades
Ran nectar, visiting each plant; and fed
Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not nice art
In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
Pour'd forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain,
Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
The open field, and where the unpierc'd shade
Imbrown'd the noontide bowers. Thus was this place
A happy rural seat of various view;
Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm:
Others whose fruit, burnish'd with golden rind,
Hung amiable, (Hesperian fables true,

If true, here only,) and of delicious taste:
Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd;
Or palmy hillock, or the flowery lap
Of some irriguous valley spread her store—
Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose:
Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant: meanwhile murmuring waters fall
Down the slope hills, dispers'd; or in a lake,
That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
The birds their quire apply; airs—vernal airs,
Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while universal Pan,
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
Led on the eternal Spring. Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Prosérpine gathering flowers—
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world; nor that sweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and the inspir'd
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian isle
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
(Whom Gentiles Ammon call, and Libyan Jove,)
Hid Amalthëa, and her florid son
Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhëa's eye;
Nor where Abassin Kings their issue guard,
Mount Amara (though this by some suppos'd
True Paradise) under the Ethiop line
By Nilus' head, enclos'd with shining rock,
A whole day's journey high; but wide remote
From this Assyrian garden, where the fiend
Saw, undelighted, all delight—all kind
Of living creatures, new to sight, and strange.
Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,

Godlike erect, with native honour clad,
In naked majesty seem'd lords of all;
And worthy seem'd; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker shone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure—
Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd;
Whence true authority in men. Though both
Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd:
For contemplation he, and valour form'd;
For softness she, and sweet attractive grace;
He, for God only; she, for God in him.
His fair large front, and eye sublime, declar'd
Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
She, as a veil, down to the slender waist,
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Dishevell'd; but in wanton ringlets wav'd,
As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied
Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
And by her yielded—by him best receiv'd,
Yielded with coy submission, modest pride,
And sweet, reluctant, amorous delay:
Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd;
Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame
Of nature's works—honour dishonourable,
Sin-bred! how have ye troubled all mankind
With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
And banish'd from man's life his happiest life,
Simplicity, and spotless innocence!
So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight
Of God, or angel; for they thought no ill:
So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair
That ever since in love's embraces met;
Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons; the fairest of her daughters Eve.
Under a tuft of shade, that on a green
Stood whispering soft, by a fresh fountain-side

They sat them down; and, after no more toil
Of their sweet gardening labour than suffic'd
To recommend cool zephyr, and made ease
More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
More grateful, to their supper-fruits they fell—
Nectarine fruits, which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, sidelong as they sat recline
On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:
The savoury pulp they chew, and in the rind,
Still as they thirsted, scoop the brimming stream:
Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles,
Wanted, nor youthful dalliance, as beseems
Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
Alone as they. About them frisking play'd
All beasts of the earth, since wild, and of all chace
In wood, or wilderness, forest, or den:
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
Dandled the kid: bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gamboll'd before them: the unwieldy elephant,
To make them mirth, us'd all his might, and wreath'd
His lithe proboscis: close the serpent sly,
Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
His braided train, and of his fatal guile
Gave proof unheeded: others on the grass
Couch'd, and, now fill'd with pasture, gazing sat,
Or bedward ruminating; for the sun,
Declin'd, was hasting now with prone career
To th' ocean isles, and in th' ascending scale
Of heaven the stars that usher evening rose:
When Satan still in gaze, as first he stood,
Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd, sad.
" O hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?
" Into our room of bliss thus high advanc'd
" Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps,
" Not spirits; yet to heavenly spirits bright
" Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue
" With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
" In them divine resemblance, and such grace

" The hand, that form'd them, on their shape hath pour'd.
" Ah, gentle pair! ye little think how nigh
" Your change approaches, when all these delights
" Will vanish, and deliver ye to woe—
" More woe, the more your taste is now of joy!
" Happy, but for so happy ill secur'd
" Long to continue; and this high seat your heaven,
" Ill fenc'd for heaven, to keep out such a foe
" As now is enter'd! yet no purpos'd foe
" To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
" Though I unpitied. League with you I seek,
" And mutual amity, so strait, so close,
" That I with you must dwell, or you with me,
" Henceforth: my dwelling haply may not please,
" Like this fair Paradise, your sense; yet such
" Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me,
" Which I as freely give: Hell shall unfold,
" To entertain you two, her widest gates,
" And send forth all her kings; there will be room,
" Not like these narrow limits, to receive
" Your numerous offspring; if no better place,
" Thank him who puts me loth to this revenge
" On you who wrong me not, for him who wrong'd.
" And should I at your harmless innocence
" Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
" Honour and empire with revenge enlarg'd,
" By conquering this new world, compels me now
" To do what else, though damn'd, I should abhor."
So spake the fiend, and with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.
Then, from his lofty stand on that high tree,
Down he alights among the sportful herd
Of those four-footed kinds; himself now one,
Now other, as their shape serv'd best his end
Nearer to view his prey, and, unespied,
To mark what of their state he more might learn,
By word or action mark'd: about them round,
A lion now he stalks with fiery glare:

Then, as a tiger, who by chance hath spied
In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,
Straight couches close; then rising, changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both,
Grip'd in each paw: when Adam, first of men,
To first of women, Eve, thus moving speech,
Turn'd him, all ear, to hear new utterance flow.
" Sole partner, and sole part of all these joys,
" Dearer thyself than all! needs must the Power
" That made us, and for us this ample world,
" Be infinitely good, and of his good
" As liberal, and free, as infinite;
" That rais'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
" In all this happiness, who at his hand
" Have nothing merited, nor can perform
" Aught whereof he hath need; he who requires
" From us no other service than to keep
" This one—this easy charge, of all the trees
" In Paradise, that bear delicious fruit
" So various, not to taste that only tree
" Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life:
" So near grows death to life! whate'er death is;
" Some dreadful thing no doubt: for well thou know'st
" God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,
" The only sign of our obedience left,
" Among so many signs of power and rule
" Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given
" Over all other creatures that possess
" Earth, air, and sea. Then, let us not think hard
" One easy prohibition, who enjoy
" Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
" Unlimited of manifold delights:
" But let us ever praise him, and extol
" His bounty, following our delightful task,
" To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers;
" Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet."
To whom thus Eve replied: " O thou, for whom,

" And from whom, I was form'd; flesh of thy flesh,
" And without whom am to no end; my guide,
" And head! what thou hast said is just and right.
" For we to him indeed all praises owe,
" And daily thanks; I chiefly, who enjoy
" So far the happier lot, enjoying thee,
" Pre-eminent by so much odds, while thou
" Like consort to thyself canst no where find.
" That day I oft remember, when from sleep
" I first awak'd, and found myself repos'd
" Under a shade, on flowers; much wondering where,
" And what I was—whence thither brought, and how.
" Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
" Of waters issu'd from a cave, and spread
" Into a liquid plain; then stood unmov'd,
" Pure as the expanse of heaven: I thither went
" With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
" On the green bank, to look into the clear
" Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.
" As I bent down to look, just opposite
" A shape within the watery gleam appear'd,
" Bending to look on me: I started back,
" It started back: but pleas'd I soon return'd;
" Pleas'd it return'd as soon, with answering looks
" Of sympathy and love: there I had fix'd
" Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
" Had not a voice thus warn'd me: 'What thou seest,
" 'What there thou seest, fair creature, is thyself;
" 'With thee it came and goes; but follow me,
" 'And I will bring thee where no shadow stays
" 'Thy coming, and thy soft embraces; he
" 'Whose image thou art: him thou shalt enjoy
" 'Inseparably thine; to him shalt bear
" 'Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd
" 'Mother of human race.' What could I do,
" But follow straight, invisibly thus led,
" Till I espied thee, fair indeed, and tall,
" Under a plantain? yet, methought, less fair,

" Less winning soft, less amiably mild,
" Than that smooth watery image: back I turn'd;
" Thou, following, criedst aloud, ' Return, fair Eve!
" ' Whom flyest thou? Whom thou flyest, of him thou
" ' art,
" ' His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
" ' Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart,
" ' Substantial life, to have thee by my side
" ' Henceforth an individual solace dear:
" ' Part of my soul, I seek thee, and thee claim,
" ' My other half!' With that thy gentle hand
" Seiz'd mine: I yielded; and from that time see
" How beauty is excell'd by manly grace
" And wisdom, which alone is truly fair."
So spake our general mother, and with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreprov'd,
And meek surrender, half-embracing lean'd
On our first father; half her swelling breast
Naked met his, under the flowing gold
Of her loose tresses hid: he, in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms,
Smil'd with superior love, as Jupiter
On Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds
That shed May flowers, and press'd her matron lip
With kisses pure. Aside the Devil turn'd
For envy; yet with jealous leer malign
Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus 'plain'd:
" Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two,
" Imparadis'd in one another's arms,
" (The happier Eden!) shall enjoy their fill
" Of bliss on bliss; while I to hell am thrust,
" Where neither joy, nor love, but fierce desire,
" Among our other torments not the least,
" Still unfulfill'd, with pain of longing pines.
" Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
" From their own mouths: all is not theirs, it seems:
" One fatal tree there stands, of knowledge call'd,
" Forbidden them to taste: knowledge forbidden!

" Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
" Envy them that? Can it be sin to know?
" Can it be death? And do they only stand
" By ignorance? Is that their happy state,
" The proof of their obedience and their faith?
" O fair foundation laid whereon to build
" Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
" With more desire to know, and to reject
" Envious commands, invented with design
" To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt
" Equal with gods: aspiring to be such,
" They taste, and die! what likelier can ensue?
" But first, with narrow search, I must walk round
" This garden, and no corner leave unspied;
" A chance, but chance may lead where I may meet
" Some wandering spirit of heaven, by fountain-side,
" Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw
" What further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,
" Yet happy pair! enjoy, till I return,
" Short pleasures; for long woes are to succeed."
So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,
But with sly circumspection, and began
Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale, his roam.
Meanwhile, in utmost longitude, where heaven
With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun
Slowly descended, and, with right aspéct,
Against the eastern gate of Paradise
Levell'd his evening rays: it was a rock
Of alabaster, pil'd up to the clouds,
Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent
Accessible from earth, one entrance high:
The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung
Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
Chief of the angelic guards, awaiting night;
About him exercis'd heroic games
The unarmed youth of heaven; but nigh at hand
Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,

Hung high, with diamond flaming, and with gold.
Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
On a sunbeam; swift as a shooting star
In autumn thwarts the night, when vapours fir'd
Impress the air, and show the mariner
From what point of his compass to beware
Impetuous winds: he thus began in haste.
"Gabriel! to thee thy course by lot hath given
"Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place
"No evil thing approach, or enter in.
"This day, at height of noon, came to my sphere
"A spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know
"More of the Almighty's works, and chiefly man,
"God's latest image: I describ'd his way,
"Bent all on speed, and mark'd his aery gait;
"But, in the mount that lies from Eden north
"Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks
"Alien from heaven, with passions foul obscur'd:
"Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
"Lost sight of him. One of the banish'd crew,
"I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep to raise
"New troubles: him thy care must be to find."
To whom the winged warrior thus return'd.
"Uriel! no wonder if thy perfect sight,
"Amid the sun's bright circle where thou sitt'st,
"See far and wide. In at this gate none pass
"The vigilance here plac'd, but such as come
"Well known from heaven; and since meridian hour
"No creature thence: if spirit of other sort
"So minded, have o'erleap'd these earthy bounds
"On purpose; hard thou know'st it to exclude
"Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.
"But if within the circuit of these walks,
"In whatsoever shape, he lurk of whom
"Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know."
So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge
Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd
Bore him slope downward to the sun, now fallen

Beneath the Azores; whether the prime orb,
Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd
Diurnal; or this less volúble earth,
By shorter flight to the East, had left him there,
Arraying with reflected purple, and gold,
The clouds that on his western throne attend.
Now came still evening on, and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied; for beast and bird,
They to their grassy couch, these to their nests,
Were slunk;—all but the wakeful nightingale;
She, all night long, her amorous descant sung;
Silence was pleas'd: now glow'd the firmament
With living sapphires; Hesperus, that led
The starry host, rode brightest; till the moon,
Rising in clouded majesty, at length,
Apparent queen, unveil'd her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.
When Adam thus to Eve: "Fair consort! the hour
"Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest,
"Mind us of like repose; since God hath set
"Labour and rest, as day and night, to men
"Successive; and the timely dew of sleep,
"Now falling with soft slumbrous weight, inclines
"Our eye-lids. Other creatures all day long
"Rove idle, unemploy'd, and less need rest:
"Man hath his daily work of body, or mind,
"Appointed, which declares his dignity,
"And the regard of Heaven on all his ways;
"While other animals unactive range,
"And of their doings God takes no account.
"To-morrow, ere fresh morning streak the East
"With first approach of light, we must be risen,
"And at our pleasant labour, to reform
"Yon flowery arbours, yonder alleys green,
"Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
"That mock our scant manuring, and require
"More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:

" Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums,
" That lie bestrewn, unsightly and unsmooth,
" Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease.
" Meanwhile, as nature wills, night bids us rest."
To whom thus Eve, with perfect beauty adorn'd.
" My author, and disposer! what thou bidd'st
" Unargued I obey: so God ordains.
" God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more
" Is woman's happiest knowledge, and her praise.
" With thee conversing I forget all time;
" All seasons, and their change—all please alike.
" Sweet is the breath of morn; her rising sweet,
" With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun,
" When first on this delightful land he spreads
" His orient beams on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
" Glistering with dew: fragrant the fertile earth
" After soft showers; and sweet the coming on
" Of grateful evening mild; then silent night,
" With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
" And these the gems of heaven, her starry train:
" But neither breath of morn, when she ascends
" With charm of earliest birds; nor rising sun
" On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
" Glistering with dew; nor fragrance after showers;
" Nor grateful evening mild; nor silent night,
" With this her solemn bird; nor walk by moon,
" Or glittering star-light; without thee is sweet."
" But wherefore all night long shine these? For whom
" This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?"
To whom our general ancestor replied:
" Daughter of God and man, accomplish'd Eve!
" These have their course to finish round the earth
" By morrow evening; and from land to land
" In order, though to nations yet unborn,
" Ministering light prepar'd, they set and rise;
" Lest total darkness should by night regain
" Her old possession, and extinguish life
" In nature, and all things; which these soft fires

" Not only enlighten, but, with kindly heat
" Of various influence, foment and warm—
" Temper or nourish; or in part shed down
" Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
" On earth, made hereby apter to receive
" Perfection from the sun's more potent ray.
" These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
" Shine not in vain. Nor think, though men were none,
" That heaven would want spectators—God want praise:
" Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
" Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
" All these, with ceaseless praise, his works behold
" Both day and night. How often, from the steep
" Of echoing hill or thicket, have we heard
" Celestial voices, to the midnight air
" (Sole, or responsive each to other's note)
" Singing their great Creator! Oft in bands
" While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
" With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds
" In full harmonic number join'd, their songs
" Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to heaven."
Thus talking, hand in hand alone they pass'd
On to their blissful bower: it was a place
Chose by the sov'reign planter, when he fram'd
All things to man's delightful use: the roof,
Of thickest covert, was inwoven shade,
Laurel, and myrtle; and what higher grew,
Of firm and fragrant leaf: on either side
Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub,
Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
Iris all hues, roses, and jessamine,
Rear'd high their flourish'd heads between, and wrought
Mosaic: under foot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay
Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with stone,
Or costliest emblem: other creature here,
Bird, beast, insect, or worm, durst enter none:

They sat them down; and, after no more toil
Of their sweet gardening labour than suffic'd
To recommend cool zephyr, and made ease
More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
More grateful, to their supper-fruits they fell—
Nectarine fruits, which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, sidelong as they sat recline
On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:
The savoury pulp they chew, and in the rind,
Still as they thirsted, scoop the brimming stream:
Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles,
Wanted, nor youthful dalliance, as beseems
Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
Alone as they. About them frisking play'd
All beasts of the earth, since wild, and of all chace
In wood, or wilderness, forest, or den:
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
Dandled the kid: bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gamboll'd before them: the unwieldy elephant,
To make them mirth, us'd all his might, and wreath'd
His lithe proboscis: close the serpent sly,
Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
His braided train, and of his fatal guile
Gave proof unheeded: others on the grass
Couch'd, and, now fill'd with pasture, gazing sat,
Or bedward ruminating; for the sun,
Declin'd, was hasting now with prone career
To th' ocean isles, and in th' ascending scale
Of heaven the stars that usher evening rose:
When Satan still in gaze, as first he stood,
Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd, sad.
" O hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?
" Into our room of bliss thus high advanc'd
" Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps,
" Not spirits; yet to heavenly spirits bright
" Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue
" With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
" In them divine resemblance, and such grace

Mysterious of connubial love refus'd:
Whatever hypocrites austerely talk
Of purity, and place, and innocence,
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase: Who bids abstain,
But our destroyer, foe to God, and man?
Hail, wedded love! mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring; sole propriety
In Paradise, of all things common else!
By thee adulterous lust was driven from men
Among the bestial herds to range: by thee,
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were known.
Far be it, that I should write thee sin, or blame,
Or think thee unbefitting holiest place;
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets!
Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd,
Present, or past; as saints and patriarchs us'd.
Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings;
Reigns here and revels: not in the bought smile
Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendear'd,
Casual fruition! nor in court-amours,
Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
Or serenate, which the starved lover sings
To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.
These, lull'd by nightingales, embracing slept;
And on their naked limbs the flow'ry roof
Shower'd roses, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,
Blest pair! and O, yet happiest, if ye seek
No happier state, and know to know no more.

Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone
Half way up hill this vast sublunar vault;
And from their ivory port the Cherubim,
Forth issuing at the accustom'd hour, stood arm'd

Then, as a tiger, who by chance hath spied
In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,
Straight couches close; then rising, changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both,
Grip'd in each paw: when Adam, first of men,
To first of women, Eve, thus moving speech,
Turn'd him, all ear, to hear new utterance flow.
" Sole partner, and sole part of all these joys,
" Dearer thyself than all! needs must the Power
" That made us, and for us this ample world,
" Be infinitely good, and of his good
" As liberal, and free, as infinite;
" That rais'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
" In all this happiness, who at his hand
" Have nothing merited, nor can perform
" Aught whereof he hath need; he who requires
" From us no other service than to keep
" This one—this easy charge, of all the trees
" In Paradise, that bear delicious fruit
" So various, not to taste that only tree
" Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life:
" So near grows death to life! whate'er death is;
" Some dreadful thing no doubt: for well thou know'st
" God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,
" The only sign of our obedience left,
" Among so many signs of power and rule
" Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given
" Over all other creatures that possess
" Earth, air, and sea. Then, let us not think hard
" One easy prohibition, who enjoy
" Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
" Unlimited of manifold delights:
" But let us ever praise him, and extol
" His bounty, following our delightful task,
" To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers;
" Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet."
To whom thus Eve replied: " O thou, for whom,

" And from whom, I was form'd; flesh of thy flesh,
" And without whom am to no end; my guide,
" And head! what thou hast said is just and right.
" For we to him indeed all praises owe,
" And daily thanks; I chiefly, who enjoy
" So far the happier lot, enjoying thee,
" Pre-eminent by so much odds, while thou
" Like consort to thyself canst no where find.
" That day I oft remember, when from sleep
" I first awak'd, and found myself repos'd
" Under a shade, on flowers; much wondering where,
" And what I was—whence thither brought, and how.
" Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
" Of waters issu'd from a cave, and spread
" Into a liquid plain; then stood unmov'd,
" Pure as the expanse of heaven: I thither went
" With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
" On the green bank, to look into the clear
" Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.
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"That mock our scant manuring, and require
"More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:

" Satan ! I know thy strength, and thou know'st
" mine;
" Neither our own, but given: what folly then
" To boast what arms can do! since thine no more
" Than Heaven permits; nor mine, though doubled now
" To trample thee as mire: for proof look up,
" And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,
" Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how
" weak,
" If thou resist." The fiend look'd up, and knew
His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
Murm'ring, and with him fled the shades of night.

BOOK V.

THE ARGUMENT.

MORNING approached, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: they come forth to their day-labours: their morning hymn at the door of their bower. God, to render man inexcusable, sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise; his appearance described; his coming discerned by Adam afar off, sitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates, at Adam's request, who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from the first revolt in heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V.

Now morn, her rosy steps in the eastern clime
Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam wak'd, so custom'd; for his sleep
Was aery-light, from pure digestion bred,
And temperate vapours bland, which the only sound
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song
Of birds on every bough. So much the more
His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve,
With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet rest: he, on his side
Leaning, half-rais'd, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then, with voice
Mild as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus: "Awake,
"My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
"Heaven's last best gift, my ever-new delight!
"Awake: the morning shines, and the fresh field
"Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
"Our tender plants,—how blows the citron grove,—

" What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,—
" How nature paints her colours,—how the bee
" Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet."
Such whisp'ring wak'd her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake:
" O sole! in whom my thoughts find all repose,
" My glory, my perfection! glad I see
" Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night
" (Such night till this I never pass'd) have dream'd,
" (If dream'd,) not, as I oft am wont, of thee,
" Works of day past, or morrow's next design;
" But of offence and trouble, which my mind
" Knew never till this irksome night. Methought,
" Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
" With gentle voice; I thought it thine: it said,
" 'Why sleep'st thou, Eve? now is the pleasant time,
" The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
" To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
" Tunes sweetest his love-labour'd song: now reigns
" Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light
" Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain,
" If none regard: heaven wakes with all his eyes;
" Whom to behold but thee, nature's desire?
" In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment,
" Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.'
" I rose, as at thy call, but found thee not:
" To find thee I directed then my walk;
" And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways
" That brought me on a sudden to the tree
" Of interdicted knowledge: fair it seem'd,
" Much fairer to my fancy than by day:
" And, as I wond'ring look'd, beside it stood
" One, shap'd and wing'd like one of those from heaven
" By us oft seen: his dewy locks distill'd
" Ambrosia: on that tree he also gaz'd:
" And, 'O fair plant,' said he, 'with fruit surcharg'd!
" 'Deigns none to ease thy load, and taste thy sweet!
" 'Nor God, nor man? Is knowledge so despis'd?

" ' Or envy, or what reserve, forbids to taste?
" ' Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
" ' Longer thy offer'd good; why else set here?'
" This said, he paus'd not, but with venturous arm
" He pluck'd—he tasted: me damp horror chill'd
" At such bold words, vouch'd with a deed so bold:
" But he thus, overjoy'd: ' O fruit divine!
" ' Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropt!
" ' Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit
" ' For gods, yet able to make gods of men:
" ' And why not gods of men? since good, the more
" ' Communicated, more abundant grows;
" ' The author not impair'd, but honoured more.
" ' Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve!
" ' Partake thou also: happy though thou art,
" ' Happier thou mayst be, worthier canst not be:
" ' Taste this, and be henceforth among the gods
" ' Thyself a goddess;—not to earth confin'd,
" ' But sometimes in the air, as we;—sometimes
" ' Ascend to heaven by merit thine, and see
" ' What life the gods live there, and such live thou!'
" So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held—
" Ev'n to my mouth—of that same fruit held part
" Which he had pluck'd: the pleasant savoury smell
" So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought,
" Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the clouds
" With him I flew, and underneath beheld
" The earth outstretch'd immense—a prospect wide,
" And various; wond'ring at my flight, and change
" To this high exaltation; suddenly
" My guide was gone; and I, methought, sunk down,
" And fell asleep: but O, how glad I wak'd,
" To find this but a dream!" Thus Eve her night
Related, and thus Adam answer'd sad:
" Best image of myself, and dearer half!
" The trouble of thy thoughts, this night in sleep,
" Affects me equally; nor can I like
" This uncouth dream,—of evil sprung, I fear.

" Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
" Created pure. But know, that in the soul
" Are many lesser faculties, that serve
" Reason as chief: among these, Fancy next
" Her office holds; of all external things
" Which the five watchful senses represent,
" She forms imaginations, aery shapes,
" Which Reason joining, or disjoining, frames
" All what we affirm, or what deny, and call
" Our knowledge, or opinion; then retires
" Into her private cell, when nature rests.
" Oft, in her absence, mimic Fancy wakes
" To imitate her; but, misjoining shapes,
" Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams;
" Ill-matching words and deeds, long past or late.
" Some such resemblances, methinks, I find
" Of our last ev'ning's talk, in this thy dream,
" But with addition strange; yet be not sad.
" Evil into the mind of God, or man,
" May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave
" No spot or blame behind: which gives me hope
" That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream,
" Waking thou never wilt consent to do.
" Be not dishearten'd then; nor cloud those looks,
" That wont to be more cheerful and serene,
" Than when fair morning first smiles on the world:
" And let us to our fresh employments rise,
" Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers,
" That open now their choicest bosom'd smells,
" Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store."
So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd;
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he, ere they fell,
Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse,
And pious awe that fear'd to have offended.
So all was clear'd, and to the field they haste:

But first, from under shady arborous roof,
Soon as they forth were come to open sight
Of day-spring, and the sun, who, scarce up-ris'n,
With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean-brim,
Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
Discov'ring in wide landscape all the east
Of Paradise, and Eden's happy plains,
Lowly they bow'd, adoring; and began
Their orisons, each morning duly paid
In various style: for neither various style,
Nor holy rapture, wanted they to praise
Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd, or sung,
Unmeditated; such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose, or numerous verse;
More tuneable than needed lute or harp
To add more sweetness: and they thus began.
"These are thy glorious works, Parent of good!
"Almighty! Thine this universal frame,
"Thus wondrous fair;—Thyself how wondrous then!
"Unspeakable! who sitt'st above these heavens,
"To us invisible, or dimly seen
"In these thy lowest works; yet these declare
"Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine.
"Speak, ye who best can tell, ye sons of light,
"Angels! for ye behold him, and with songs,
"And choral symphonies, day without night,
"Circle his throne, rejoicing—ye in heaven:
"On earth, join all ye creatures to extol
"Him first, him last, him midst, and without end!
"Fairest of stars! last in the train of night,
"If better thou belong not to the dawn,—
"Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn
"With thy bright circlet,—praise him in thy sphere,
"While day arises, that sweet hour of prime.
"Thou sun! of this great world both eye and soul,
"Acknowledge him thy greater; sound his praise
"In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
"And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.

" Moon! that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st
" With the fix'd stars,—fix'd in their orb that flies;
" And ye five other wand'ring fires! that move
" In mystic dance, not without song, resound
" His praise who out of darkness call'd up light.
" Air, and ye elements! the eldest birth
" Of nature's womb, that in quaternion run
" Perpetual circle, multiform, and mix
" And nourish all things; let your ceaseless change
" Vary to our great Maker still new praise.
" Ye mists and exhalations! that now rise
" From hill, or steaming lake, dusky, or gray,
" Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,
" In honour to the world's great Author, rise;
" Whether to deck with clouds the uncolour'd sky,
" Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers,
" Rising, or falling, still advance his praise.
" His praise, ye winds! that from four quarters blow,
" Breathe soft, or loud; and wave your tops, ye pines!
" With every plant, in sign of worship, wave.
" Fountains! and ye that warble, as ye flow,
" Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
" Join voices, all ye living souls! ye birds,
" That singing up to heaven-gate ascend,
" Bear on your wings, and in your notes, his praise.
" Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk
" The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;
" Witness if I be silent, morn or even,
" To hill, or valley, fountain, or fresh shade,
" Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.
" Hail, Universal Lord! be bounteous still
" To give us only good: and, if the night
" Have gather'd aught of evil, or conceal'd,
" Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark!"
So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts
Firm peace recover'd soon, and wonted calm.
On to their morning's rural work they haste,
Among sweet dews and flowers, where any row

Of fruit-trees, over-woody, reach'd too far
Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check
Fruitless embraces: or they led the vine
To wed her elm; she, spous'd, about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her dower—the adopted clusters, to adorn
His barren leaves. Them, thus employ'd, beheld
With pity heaven's high King, and to him call'd
Raphael, the sociable spirit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and secur'd
His marriage with the sev'n-times-wedded maid.
"Raphael," said he, "thou hear'st what stir on earth
"Satan, from hell 'scaped through the darksome gulf,
"Hath rais'd in Paradise; and how disturb'd
"This night the human pair; how he designs
"In them at once to ruin all mankind.
"Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
"Converse with Adam, in what bower or shade
"Thou find'st him, from the heat of noon retir'd
"To respite his day-labour with repast,
"Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
"As may advise him of his happy state—
"Happiness in his power left free to will,
"Left to his own free will—his will, though free,
"Yet mutable: whence warn him to beware
"He swerve not, too secure. Tell him withal
"His danger, and from whom; what enemy,
"Late fall'n himself from heaven, is plotting now
"The fall of others from like state of bliss:
"By violence? no, for that shall be withstood;
"But by deceit and lies: this let him know,
"Lest, wilfully transgressing, he pretend
"Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd."
So spake the Eternal Father, and fulfill'd
All justice: nor delay'd the winged saint
After his charge receiv'd; but from among
Thousand celestial ardours, where he stood
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up-springing light

Flew through the midst of heaven: the angelic quires,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all the empyreal road: till, at the gate
Of heaven arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide
On golden hinges turning, as, by work
Divine, the Sov'ran Architect had fram'd.
From hence (no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interpos'd,) however small, he sees
Not unconform to other shining globes
Earth, and the garden of God, with cedars crown'd
Above all hills. As when by night the glass
Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes
Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon:
Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades,
Delos, or Samos, first appearing, kens
A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
Sails between worlds and worlds; with steady wing
Now on the polar winds; then, with quick fan
Winnows the buxom air; till, within soar
Of towering eagles, to all the fowls he seems
A phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,
When, to enshrine his relics in the sun's
Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
At once on the eastern cliff of Paradise
He lights, and to his proper shape returns,
A Seraph wing'd: six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold,
And colours dipt in heaven; the third his feet
Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,
Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance fill'd
The circuit wide. Straight knew him all the bands
Of angels under watch; and to his state,
And to his message high, in honour rise;

For on some message high they guess'd him bound.
Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come
Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flowering odours, cassia, nard, and balm—
A wilderness of sweets! for Nature here
Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will
Her virgin fancies—pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule, or art—enormous bliss!
Him, through the spicy forest onward come,
Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat
Of his cool bower; while now the mounted sun
Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
Earth's inmost womb;—more warmth than Adam needs:
And Eve within, due at her hour, prepar'd
For dinner savoury fruits, of taste to please
True appetite, and not disrelish thirst
Of nectarous draughts between, from milky stream,
Berry, or grape; to whom thus Adam call'd:
" Haste hither, Eve! and, worth thy sight, behold,
" Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape
" Comes this way moving; (seems another morn
" Ris'n on mid-noon:) some great behest from heaven
" To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
" This day to be our guest. But go with speed;
" And, what thy stores contain, bring forth, and pour
" Abundance—fit to honour and receive
" Our heavenly stranger: well we may afford
" Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
" From large bestow'd, where nature multiplies
" Her fertile growth, and by disburd'ning grows
" More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare."
To whom thus Eve: "Adam, earth's hallow'd mould,
" Of God inspir'd! small store will serve, where store,
" All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk;
" Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
" To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes:
" But I will haste, and from each bough and brake,
" Each plant and juiciest gourd, will pluck such choice
" To entertain our angel-guest, as he,

" Beholding, shall confess that here on earth
" God hath dispens'd his bounties as in heaven."
So saying, with dispatchful looks, in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to choose for delicacy best—
What order so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes not well join'd, inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste, upheld with kindliest change:
Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk
Whatever earth, all-bearing mother, yields
In India East, or West, or middle shore,
In Pontus, or the Punic coast, or where
Alcinous reign'd; fruit of all kinds, in coat
Rough, or smooth rind, or bearded husk, or shell,
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
Heaps with unsparing hand: for drink the grape
She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths
From many a berry; and, from sweet kernels press'd,
She tempers dulcet creams; nor these to hold
Wants her fit vessels pure; then strews the ground
With rose, and odours from the shrub unfum'd.
Meanwhile our primitive great sire, to meet
His god-like guest walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections: in himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long
Of horses led, and grooms besmear'd with gold,
Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape.
Nearer his presence Adam, though not aw'd,
Yet with submiss approach, and reverence meek,
As to a superior nature, bowing low,
Thus said: " Native of heaven! for other place
" None can, than heaven, such glorious shape contain
" Since by descending from the thrones above,
" Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while
" To want, and honour these; vouchsafe with us
" Two only, who yet by sov'ran gift possess

" This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower
" To rest, and what the garden choicest bears
" To sit and taste, till this meridian heat
" Be over, and the sun more cool decline."
Whom thus the angelic Virtue answer'd mild:
" Adam! I therefore came; nor art thou such
" Created, nor such place hast here to dwell,
" As may not oft invite, though spirits of heaven,
" To visit thee: lead on then where thy bower
" O'ershades; for these mid-hours, till ev'ning rise,
" I have at will." So to the sylvan lodge
They came, that like Pomona's arbour smil'd,
With flow'rets deck'd, and fragrant smells; but Eve,
Undeck'd save with herself, more lovely fair
Than wood-nymph, or the fairest goddess feign'd
Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,
Stood to entertain her guest from heaven: no veil
She needed, virtue proof; no thought infirm
Alter'd her cheek. On whom the angel, ' Hail!'
Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd
Long after to blest Mary, second Eve.
" Hail, mother of mankind! whose fruitful womb
" Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,
" Than with these various fruits the trees of God
" Have heap'd this table." Rais'd of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round;
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold;
No fear lest dinner cool; when thus began
Our author: " Heavenly stranger! please to taste
" These bounties, which our Nourisher,—from whom
" All perfect good, unmeasur'd out, descends,—
" To us for food and for delight hath caus'd
" The earth to yield; unsavoury food, perhaps,
" To spiritual natures: only this I know,
" That one celestial Father gives to all."
To whom the angel: " Therefore what he gives

" (Whose praise be ever sung!) to man, in part
" Spiritual, may of purest spirits be found
" No ingrateful food: and food alike those pure
" Intelligential substances require,
" As doth your rational; and both contain
" Within them every lower faculty
" Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste;
" Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
" And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
" For know, whatever was created needs
" To be sustain'd and fed: of elements
" The grosser feeds the purer; earth the sea;
" Earth and the sea feed air; the air those fires
" Ethereal, and, as lowest, first the moon;
" Whence, in her visage round, those spots, unpurg'd
" Vapours, not yet into her substance turn'd.
" Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
" From her moist continent to higher orbs.
" The sun, that light imparts to all, receives
" From all his alimental recompense
" In humid exhalations, and at even
" Sups with the ocean. Though in heaven the trees
" Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
" Yield nectar—though from off the boughs each morn
" We brush mellifluous dews, and find the ground
" Cover'd with pearly grain; yet God hath here
" Varied his bounty so with new delights,
" As may compare with heaven: and to taste
" Think not I shall be nice." So down they sat,
And to their viands fell; nor seemingly
The angel, nor in mist,—the common gloss
Of theologians;—but with keen dispatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate: what redounds transpires
Through spirits with ease; nor wonder, if by fire
Of sooty coal the empiric alchymist
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold,

As from the mine. Meanwhile at table Eve
Minister'd naked, and their flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crown'd. O innocence,
Deserving Paradise! if ever, then—
Then had the sons of God excuse to have been
Enamour'd at that sight: but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd; nor jealousy
Was understood, the injur'd lover's hell.
Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose
In Adam not to let the occasion pass,
Giv'n him by this great conference, to know
Of things above his world, and of their being
Who dwell in heaven, whose excellence he saw
Transcend his own so far; whose radiant forms,
Divine effulgence—whose high power, so far
Exceeded human: and his wary speech
Thus to the empyreal minister he fram'd:
" Inhabitant with God! now know I well
" Thy favour, in this honour done to man;
" Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd
" To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste;
" Food not of angels, yet accepted so,
" As that more willingly thou couldst not seem
" At heaven's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare!"
To whom the winged hierarch replied:
" O Adam! one Almighty is, from whom
" All things proceed, and up to him return,
" If not depraved from good, created all
" Such to perfection, one first matter all,
" Endued with various forms, various degrees
" Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
" But more refin'd, more spirituous and pure,
" As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending,
" Each in their several active spheres assign'd;
" Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
" Proportion'd to each kind. So, from the root
" Springs lighter the green stalk; from thence the leaves,

" More aery; last, the bright consummate flower
" Spirits odorous breathes; flowers, and their fruit,
" Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,
" To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
" To intellectual—give both life and sense,
" Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
" Reason receives; and reason is her being,
" Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
" Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours;
" Differing but in degree, of kind the same.
" Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
" If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
" To proper substance. Time may come, when men
" With angels may participate, and find
" No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare;
" And from these corporal nutriments, perhaps,
" Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
" Improv'd by tract of time; and, wing'd, ascend
" Ethereäl, as we; or may, at choice,
" Here, or in heavenly Paradises, dwell;
" If ye be found obedient, and retain,
" Unalterably firm, his love entire,
" Whose progeny you are. Meanwhile, enjoy
" Your fill what happiness this happy state
" Can comprehend, incapable of more."
To whom the patriarch of mankind replied:
" O favourable spirit, propitious guest!
" Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
" Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set
" From centre to circumference; whereon,
" In contemplation of created things,
" By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
" What meant that caution join'd, ' If ye be found
" ' Obedient ?' Can we want obedience then
" To him ? or possibly his love desert,
" Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here,
" Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
" Human desires can seek, or apprehend ?"

To whom the angel: "Son of heaven and earth!
"Attend. That thou art happy, owe to God;
"That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,
"That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
"This was that caution given thee: be advis'd.
"God made thee perfect, not immutable;
"And good he made thee; but to persevere
"He left it in thy power; ordain'd thy will
"By nature free, not overrul'd by fate
"Inextricable, or strict necessity.
"Our voluntary service he requires,
"Not our necessitated; such with him
"Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
"Can hearts not free be tried, whether they serve,
"Willing or no, who will but what they must
"By destiny, and can no other choose?
"Myself, and all the angelic host, that stand
"In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state
"Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
"On other surety none: freely we serve,
"Because we freely love, as in our will
"To love or not; in this we stand or fall,
"And some are fallen—to disobedience fallen;
"And so from heaven to deepest hell: O fall,
"From what high state of bliss, into what woe!"
To whom our great progenitor: "Thy words
"Attentive, and with more delighted ear,
"Divine instructor! I have heard, than when
"Cherubic songs by night from neighbouring hills
"Aërial music send. Nor knew I not
"To be both will and deed created free;
"Yet, that we never shall forget to love
"Our Maker, and obey him whose command
"Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts
"Assur'd me, and still assure: though what thou tell'st
"Hath pass'd in heaven, some doubt within me move,
"But more desire, to hear, if thou consent,
"The full relation, which must needs be strange,

" Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;
" And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun
" Hath finish'd half his journey, and scarce begins
" His other half in the great zone of heaven."
Thus Adam made request; and Raphaël,
After short pause assenting, thus began:
" High matter thou enjoin'st me, O prime of men!
" Sad task, and hard! for how shall I relate
" To human sense the invisible exploits
" Of warring spirits? how, without remorse,
" The ruin of so many, glorious once,
" And perfect, while they stood? how, last, unfold
" The secrets of another world, perhaps
" Not lawful to reveal? Yet, for thy good
" This is dispens'd: and what surmounts the reach
" Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
" By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,
" As may express them best: though what if earth
" Be but the shadow of heaven, and things therein
" Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?
" As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
" Reign'd where these heavens now roll, where earth now
" rests
" Upon her centre pois'd; when on a day,
" (For time, though in eternity, applied
" To motion, measures all things durable
" By present, past, and future,) on such day
" As heaven's great year brings forth, the empyreal host
" Of angels, by imperial summons call'd,
" Innumerable before the Almighty's throne
" Forthwith, from all the ends of heaven, appear'd
" Under their hierarchs in orders bright:
" Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,
" Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear,
" Stream in the air, and for distinction serve
" Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees;
" Or in their glittering tissues bear imblaz'd
" Holy memorials, acts of zeal, and love,

" Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs
" Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
" Orb within orb, the Father Infinite,
" By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son,
" Amidst, as from a flaming mount whose top
" Brightness had made invisible, thus spake:
" ' Hear, all ye angels, progeny of light,
" ' Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers!
" ' Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.
" ' This day I have begot whom I declare
" ' My only Son, and on this holy hill
" ' Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
" ' At my right hand: your head I him appoint;
" ' And by myself have sworn, to him shall bow
" ' All knees in heaven, and shall confess him Lord:
" ' Under his great vicegerent reign abide
" ' United, as one individual soul,
" ' For ever happy: him who disobeys,
" ' Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day,
" ' Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
" ' Into utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place
" ' Ordain'd without redemption, without end.'
" So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words
" All seem'd well pleas'd—all seem'd, but were not all.
" That day, as other solemn days, they spent
" In song and dance about the sacred hill;
" Mystical dance! which yonder starry sphere
" Of planets, and of fix'd, in all her wheels,
" Resembles nearest; mazes intricate,
" Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
" Then most, when most irregular they seem;
" And in their motions harmony divine
" So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
" Listens delighted. Ev'ning now approach'd;
" (For we have also ev'ning and our morn,
" We ours for change delectable, not need:)
" Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
" Desirous; all in circles as they stood,

" Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
" With angels' food; and rubied nectar flows
" In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
" Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of heaven.
" On flowers repos'd, and with fresh flow'rets crown'd,
" They eat—they drink; and in communion sweet
" Quaff immortality and joy, (secure
" Of surfeit, where full measure only bounds
" Excess,) before the all-bounteous King, who shower'd
" With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy.
" Now when ambrosial night, with clouds exhal'd
" From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
" Spring both, the face of brightest heaven had chang'd
" To grateful twilight, (for night comes not there
" In darker veil,) and roseate dews dispos'd
" All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest;
" Wide over all the plain, and wider far
" Than all this globous earth in plain outspread,
" (Such are the courts of God!) the angelic throng,
" Dispers'd in bands and files, their camp extend
" By living streams among the trees of life;
" Pavilions numberless! and sudden rear'd
" Celestial tabernacles, where they slept
" Fann'd with cool winds; save those, who, in their course,
" Melodious hymns about the sov'reign throne
" Alternate all night long. But not so wak'd
" Satan; (so call him now, his former name
" Is heard no more in heaven;) he of the first,
" If not the first archangel, great in power,
" In favour, and pre-eminence, yet fraught
" With envy 'gainst the Son of God,—that day
" Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaim'd
" Messiah, King anointed,—could not bear
" Through pride that sight, and thought himself impair'd.
" Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,
" Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour
" Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd
" With all his legions to dislodge, and leave

" Unworshipp'd, unobey'd, the throne supreme—
" Contemptuous; and, his next subordinate
" Awakening, thus to him in secret spake:
" ' Sleep'st thou, companion dear? What sleep can close
" ' Thy eye-lids, and remember'st what decree
" ' Of yesterday, so late hath pass'd the lips
" ' Of heaven's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
" ' Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont, to impart;
" ' Both waking we were one; how then can now
" ' Thy sleep dissent? New laws thou seest impos'd:
" ' New laws from Him who reigns new minds may raise
" ' In us who serve—new counsels, to debate
" ' What doubtful may ensue: more in this place
" ' To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
" ' Of all those myriads, which we lead, the chief;
" ' Tell them, that by command, ere yet dim night
" ' Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
" ' And all who under me their banner wave,
" ' Homeward, with flying march, where we possess
" ' The quarters of the north; there to prepare
" ' Fit entertainment to receive our King,
" ' The great Messiah, and his new commands;
" ' Who speedily through all the hierarchies
" ' Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.'
" So spake the false archangel, and infus'd
" Bad influence into the unwary breast
" Of his associate: he together calls,
" Or several one by one, the regent powers,
" Under him regent; tells, as he was taught,
" That the Most High commanding, now ere night—
" Now ere dim night had disencumber'd heaven,
" The great hierarchal standard was to move;
" Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
" Ambiguous words, and jealousies, to sound,
" Or taint, integrity: but all obey'd
" The wonted signal, and superior voice
" Of their great potentate; for great indeed
" His name, and high was his degree in heaven;

" His countenance, as the morning star that guides
" The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies
" Drew after him the third part of heaven's host!
" Meanwhile the Eternal eye, whose sight discerns
" Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount,
" And from within the golden lamps that burn
" Nightly before him, saw without their light
" Rebellion rising—saw in whom—how spread
" Among the sons of morn—what multitudes
" Were banded to oppose his high decree;
" And, smiling, to his only Son thus said:
" ' Son! thou in whom my glory I behold
" ' In full resplendence, heir of all my might!
" ' Nearly it now concerns us to be sure
" ' Of our omnipotence; and with what arms
" ' We mean to hold what anciently we claim
" ' Of deity, or empire: such a foe
" ' Is rising, who intends to erect his throne
" ' Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
" ' Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
" ' In battle what our power is, or our right.
" ' Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
" ' With speed what force is left, and all employ
" ' In our defence; lest unawares we lose
" ' This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.'
" To whom the Son, with calm aspect, and clear,
" Light'ning divine, ineffable, serene!
" Made answer: ' Mighty Father! thou thy foes
" ' Justly hast in derision, and, secure,
" ' Laugh'st at their vain designs, and tumults vain
" ' Matter to me of glory! whom their hate
" ' Illustrates, when they see all regal power
" ' Given me to quell their pride: and in event
" ' Know whether I be dexterous to subdue
" ' Thy rebels, or be found the worst in heaven.'
" So spake the Son: but Satan, with his powers,
" Far was advanc'd on winged speed; an host
" Innumerable as the stars of night,

" Or stars of morning—dew-drops, which the sun
" Impearls on every leaf, and every flower.
" Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies
" Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,
" In their triple degrees; (regions to which
" All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
" Than what this garden is to all the earth,
" And all the sea, from one entire globose
" Stretch'd into longitude;) which having pass'd,
" At length into the limits of the north
" They came; and Satan to his royal seat
" High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
" Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers
" From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold,
" The palace of great Lucifer; (so call
" That structure in the dialect of men
" Interpreted;) which, not long after, he,
" Affecting all equality with God,
" In imitation of that mount whereon
" Messiah was declar'd in sight of heaven,
" The Mountain of the Congregation call'd:
" For thither he assembled all his train,
" Pretending so commanded, to consult
" About the great reception of their King
" Thither to come; and with calumnious art
" Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears:
" ' Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers!
" ' If these magnific titles yet remain,
" ' Not merely titular, since, by decree,
" ' Another now hath to himself engross'd
" ' All power, and us eclips'd, under the name
" ' Of King anointed; for whom all this haste
" ' Of midnight-march, and hurried meeting here,
" ' This only to consult, how we may best,
" ' With what may be devis'd of honours new,
" ' Receive him, coming to receive from us
" ' Knee-tribute, yet unpaid—prostration vile!
" ' Too much to One! but, double, how endur'd,

" ' To One, and to his image now proclaim'd?
" ' But what if better councils might erect
" ' Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke?
" ' Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
" ' The supple knee? Ye will not, if I trust
" ' To know ye right; or if ye know yourselves
" ' Natives and sons of heaven possess'd before
" ' By none; and if not equal all, yet free—
" ' Equally free; for orders and degrees
" ' Jar not with liberty, but well consist.
" ' Who can in reason then, or right, assume
" ' Monarchy over such as live by right
" ' His equals? if in power and splendour less,
" ' In freedom equal: or, can introduce
" ' Law and edict on us, who without law
" ' Err not? much less, for this to be our Lord,
" ' And look for adoration, to the abuse
" ' Of those imperial titles which assert
" ' Our being ordain'd to govern—not to serve!'
" Thus far his bold discourse without control
" Had audience; when, among the Seraphim
" Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd
" The Deity, and divine commands obey'd,
" Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe,
" The current of his fury thus oppos'd:
" ' O argument blasphémous, false, and proud!
" ' Words which no ear ever to hear in heaven
" ' Expected, least of all from thee, ingrate,
" ' In place thyself so high above thy peers!
" ' Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn
" ' The just decree of God, pronounc'd and sworn,
" ' That to his only Son by right endued
" ' With regal sceptre, every soul in heaven
" ' Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
" ' Confess him rightful king? Unjust, thou say'st,
" ' Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,
" ' And equal over equals to let reign;
" ' One over all, with unsucceeded power.

" ' Shalt thou give law to God? shalt thou dispute
" ' With him the points of liberty, who made
" ' Thee what thou art, and form'd the powers of heaven
" ' Such as he pleas'd, and circumscrib'd their being?
" ' Yet, by experience taught, we know how good,
" ' And of our good, and of our dignity,
" ' How provident he is—how far from thought
" ' To make us less; bent rather to exalt
" ' Our happy state, under one head more near
" ' United. But to grant it thee unjust,
" ' That equal over equals monarch reign;
" ' Thyself, though great and glorious, dost thou count,
" ' Or all angelic nature join'd in one,
" ' Equal to him, begotten Son? by whom,
" ' As by his word, the Mighty Father made
" ' All things, even thee; and all the spirits of heaven
" ' By him created in their bright degrees;
" ' Crown'd them with glory, and to their glory nam'd
" ' Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
" ' Essential Powers; nor by his reign obscur'd,
" ' But more illustrious made; since he the head,
" ' One of our number thus reduc'd, becomes;
" ' His laws our laws: all honour to him done
" ' Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage,
" ' And tempt not these; but hasten to appease
" ' Th' incensed Father, and th' incensed Son,
" ' While pardon may be found in time besought.'
" So spake the fervent angel; but his zeal
" None seconded, as out of season judg'd,
" Or singular, and rash: whereat rejoic'd
" The apostate, and, more haughty, thus replied:
" ' That we were form'd then, say'st thou? and the work
" ' Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd
" ' From Father to his Son? strange point, and new!
" ' Doctrine which we would know whence learn'd. Who
" ' saw
" ' When this creation was? remember'st thou
" ' Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?

" ' We know no time when we were not as now;
" ' Know none before us—self-begot—self-rais'd
" ' By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
" ' Had circled his full orb; the birth mature
" ' Of this our native heaven; ethereal sons.
" ' Our puissance is our own: our own right hand
" ' Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
" ' Who is our equal: then thou shalt behold
" ' Whether by supplication we intend
" ' Address, and to begirt the almighty throne
" ' Beseeching, or besieging. This report—
" ' These tidings carry to the anointed King;
" ' And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.'
" He said; and, as the sound of waters deep,
" Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
" Through the infinite host: nor less for that
" The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone,
" Encompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd bold:
" ' O alienate from God, O spirit accurs'd,
" ' Forsaken of all good! I see thy fall
" ' Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd
" ' In this perfidious fraud; contagion spread
" ' Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth
" ' No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
" ' Of God's Messiah; those indulgent laws
" ' Will not be now vouchsaf'd; other decrees
" ' Against thee are gone forth without recal:
" ' That golden sceptre, which thou didst reject,
" ' Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
" ' Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise:
" ' Yet not for thy advice, or threats, I fly
" ' These wicked tents devoted; lest the wrath
" ' Impendent, raging into sudden flame,
" ' Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel
" ' His thunder on thy head, devouring fire!
" ' Then who created thee lamenting learn,
" ' When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know.'
" So spake the Seraph Abdiel, faithful found

" Among the faithless—faithful only he;
" Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
" Unshaken, unseduc'd, unterrified,
" His loyalty he kept—his love—his zeal;
" Nor number, nor example, with him wrought
" To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
" Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
" Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd
" Superior, nor of violence fear'd aught;
" And, with retorted scorn, his back he turn'd
" On those proud towers to swift destruction doom'd.

BOOK VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

RAPHAEL continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his angels. The first fight described: Satan and his powers retire under night: he calls a council; invents devilish engines, which, in the second day's fight, put Michael and his angels to some disorder; but they at length pulling up mountains overwhelm both the force and machines of Satan: yet the tumult not so ending, God, on the third day, sends Messiah his Son, for whom he had reserved the glory of that victory: he, in the power of his Father, coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them unable to resist, towards the wall of heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepared for them in the deep: Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VI.

" ALL night the dreadless angel, unpursu'd,
" Through heaven's wide champaign held his way; till
" Morn,
" Wak'd by the circling Hours, with rosy hand
" Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
" Within the mount of God, fast by his throne,
" Where light and darkness, in perpetual round,
" Lodge and dislodge by turns; which makes through
" heaven
" Grateful vicissitude, like day and night:
" Light issues forth, and at the other door
" Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour
" To veil the heaven; though darkness there might well
" Seem twilight here: and now went forth the Morn,
" Such as in highest heaven, array'd in gold
" Empyreal; from before her vanish'd Night,
" Shot through with orient beams; when all the plain,
" Cover'd with thick embattled squadrons bright,
" Chariots, and flaming arms, and fiery steeds,
" Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view.
" War he perceiv'd, war in procinct; and found
" Already known what he for news had thought

" To have reported: gladly then he mix'd
" Among those friendly powers, who him receiv'd
" With joy, and acclamations loud; that one,
" That of so many myriads fall'n, yet one
" Return'd not lost. On to the sacred hill
" They led him high applauded, and present
" Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice,
" From midst a golden cloud, thus mild was heard:
" ' Servant of God, well done! well hast thou fought
" ' The better fight, who single hast maintain'd,
" ' Against revolted multitudes, the cause
" ' Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
" ' And for the testimony of truth hast borne
" ' Universal reproach, far worse to bear
" ' Than violence: for this was all thy care,
" ' To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds
" ' Judg'd thee perverse. The easier conquest now
" ' Remains thee; aided by this host of friends,
" ' Back on thy foes more glorious to return,
" ' Than scorn'd thou didst depart; and to subdue
" ' By force, who reason for their law refuse—
" ' Right reason for their law, and for their king
" ' Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.
" ' Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince;
" ' And thou in military prowess next,
" ' Gabriel! Lead forth to battle these my sons
" ' Invincible; lead forth my armed Saints,
" ' By thousands and by millions, rang'd for fight;
" ' Equal in number to that godless crew
" ' Rebellious: them, with fire and hostile arms,
" ' Fearless assault; and, to the brow of heaven
" ' Pursuing, drive them out from God and bliss,
" ' Into their place of punishment,—the gulf
" ' Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
" ' His fiery chaos to receive their fall.'
" So spake the Sovran Voice, and clouds began
" To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
" In dusky wreaths reluctant flames, the sign

" Of wrath awak'd! Nor with less dread the loud
" Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow:
" At which command the Powers militant
" That stood for heaven, in mighty quadrate join'd
" Of union irresistible, mov'd on
" In silence their bright legions, to the sound
" Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd
" Heroic ardour to adventurous deeds,
" Under their god-like leaders, in the cause
" Of God, and his Messiah. On they move
" Indissolubly firm: nor obvious hill,
" Nor straitening vale, nor wood, nor stream, divides
" Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
" Their march was, and the passive air upbore
" Their nimble tread. As when the total kind
" Of birds, in orderly array on wing,
" Came summon'd over Eden to receive
" Their names of thee; so, over many a tract
" Of heaven they march'd, and many a province wide,
" Tenfold the length of this terrene. At last,
" Far in the horizon to the north, appear'd
" From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd
" In battailous aspect; and, nearer view,
" Bristled with upright beams innumerable
" Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields
" Various, with boastful argument portray'd,
" The banded powers of Satan, hasting on
" With furious expedition: for they ween'd
" That self-same day, by fight, or by surprise,
" To win the mount of God, and on his throne
" To set the envier of his state, the proud
" Aspirer; but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain
" In the mid way. Though strange to us it seem'd
" At first, that angel should with angel war,
" And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
" So oft in festivals of joy, and love
" Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire,
" Hymning the Eternal Father. But the shout

" Of battle now began, and rushing sound
" Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
" High in the midst, exalted as a god,
" The apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat,
" Idol of majesty divine! enclos'd
" With flaming Cherubim, and golden shields;
" Then lighted from his gorgeous throne; for now
" 'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,—
" A dreadful interval!—and front to front
" Presented stood in terrible array
" Of hideous length: before the cloudy van,
" On the rough edge of battle ere it join'd,
" Satan, with vast and haughty strides advanc'd,
" Came towering, arm'd in adamant and gold.
" Abdiel that sight endur'd not, where he stood
" Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds;
" And thus his own undaunted heart explores:
" ' O heaven! that such resemblance of the Highest
" ' Should yet remain, where faith and reälty
" ' Remain not: wherefore should not strength and might
" ' There fail, where virtue fails; or weakest prove,
" ' Where boldest, though to sight unconquerable?
" ' His puissance, trusting in the Almighty's aid,
" ' I mean to try, whose reason I have tried
" ' Unsound and false: nor is it aught but just
" ' That he, who in debate of truth hath won,
" ' Should win in arms, in both disputes alike
" ' Victor; though brutish that contést, and foul,
" ' When reason hath to deal with force; yet so
" ' Most reason is, that reason overcome.'
" So pondering, and from his armed peers
" Forth stepping opposite, half-way he met
" His daring foe, at this prevention more
" Incens'd, and thus securely him defied:
" ' Proud, art thou met? Thy hope was to have reach'd
" ' The height of thy aspiring unoppos'd—
" ' The throne of God unguarded, and his side
" ' Abandon'd, at the terror of thy power,

" ' Or potent tongue: fool! not to think how vain
" ' Against the Omnipotent to rise in arms:
" ' Who, out of smallest things, could, without end,
" ' Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat
" ' Thy folly; or, with solitary hand
" ' Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow,
" ' Unaided, could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd
" ' Thy legions under darkness. But thou seest
" ' All are not of thy train; there be who faith
" ' Prefer, and piety to God, though then
" ' To thee not visible, when I alone
" ' Seem'd in thy world erroneous to dissent
" ' From all: my sect thou seest; now learn too late
" ' How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.'
" Whom the grand foe, with scornful eye askance,
" Thus answer'd: ' Ill for thee, but in wish'd hour
" ' Of my revenge, first sought for, thou return'st
" ' From flight, seditious angel! to receive
" ' Thy merited reward, the first assay
" ' Of this right hand provoked, since first that tongue,
" ' Inspir'd with contradiction, durst oppose
" ' A third part of the gods, in synod met
" ' Their deities to assert; who, while they feel
" ' Vigour divine within them, can allow
" ' Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st
" ' Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
" ' From me some plume, that thy success may show
" ' Destruction to the rest: this pause between,
" ' (Unanswer'd lest thou boast,) to let thee know
" ' At first I thought that liberty, and heaven,
" ' To heavenly souls had been all one; but now
" ' I see that most through sloth had rather serve:
" ' Minist'ring spirits, train'd up in feast and song!
" ' Such hast thou arm'd—the minstrelsy of heaven,
" ' Servility with freedom to contend,
" ' As both their deeds compar'd this day shall prove.'
" To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern replied:
" ' Apostate! still thou err'st, nor end wilt find

" ' Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
" ' Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
" ' Of servitude, to serve whom God ordains,
" ' Or nature: God and nature bid the same,
" ' When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
" ' Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
" ' To serve the unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
" ' Against his worthier; as thine now serve thee,
" ' Thyself not free, but to thyself enthrall'd:
" ' Yet lewdly dar'st our minist'ring upbraid.
" ' Reign thou in hell, thy kingdom; let me serve,
" ' In heaven, God ever-blest, and his divine
" ' Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd!
" ' Yet chains in hell, not realms, expect: meanwhile,
" ' From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
" ' This greeting on thy impious crest receive.'
" So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,
" Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell
" On the proud crest of Satan, that no sight,
" Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield,
" Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge
" He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
" His massy spear upstaid; as if on earth
" Winds under ground, or waters, forcing way,
" Sidelong had push'd a mountain from his seat,
" Half-sunk with all his pines. Amazement seiz'd
" The rebel thrones, but greater rage, to see
" Thus foil'd their mightiest; ours joy fill'd, and shout
" Presage of victory, and fierce desire
" Of battle: whereat Michaël bid sound
" The archangel trumpet; through the vast of heaven
" It sounded, and the faithful armies rung
" Hosanna to the Highest: nor stood at gaze
" The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd
" The horrid shock. Now storming fury rose,
" And clamour, such as heard in heaven till now
" Was never; arms on armour clashing bray'd
" Horrible discord, and the madding wheels

" Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noise
" Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
" Of fiery darts in flaming volleys flew,
" And, flying, vaulted either host with fire:
" So under fiery cope together rush'd
" Both battles main, with ruinous assault
" And inextinguishable rage. All heaven
" Resounded; and had earth been then, all earth
" Had to her centre shook. What wonder? when
" Millions of fierce encount'ring angels fought
" On either side, the least of whom could wield
" These elements, and arm him with the force
" Of all their regions: how much more of power
" Army against army numberless to raise
" Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
" Though not destroy, their happy native seat;
" Had not the Eternal King Omnipotent,
" From his strong hold of heaven, high overrul'd
" And limited their might; though number'd such
" As each divided legion might have seem'd
" A numerous host; in strength each armed hand
" A legion; led in fight, yet leader seemed
" Each warrior, single, as in chief, expert
" When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
" Of battle, open when, and when to close
" The ridges of grim war: no thought of flight—
" None of retreat—no unbecoming deed
" That argued fear; each on himself relied,
" As only in his arm the moment lay
" Of victory. Deeds of eternal fame
" Were done, but infinite; for wide was spread
" That war, and various: sometimes, on firm ground
" A standing fight; then, soaring on main wing,
" Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then
" Conflicting fire. Long time in even scale
" The battle hung; till Satan, who that day
" Prodigious power had shown, and met in arms
" No equal, ranging through the dire attack

" Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
" Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd
" Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway
" Brandish'd aloft, the horrid edge came down,
" Wide-wasting! Such destruction to withstand
" He hasted, and oppos'd the rocky orb
" Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield,—
" A vast circumference. At his approach,
" The great archangel from his warlike toil
" Surceas'd; and, glad, as hoping here to end
" Intestine war in heaven, the arch-foe subdued,
" Or captive dragg'd in chains, with hostile frown
" And visage all inflam'd first thus began:
" ' Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,
" ' Unnam'd in heaven—now plenteous, as thou seest,
" ' These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
" ' Though heaviest, by just measure, on thyself
" ' And thy adherents: how hast thou disturb'd
" ' Heaven's blessed peace, and into nature brought
" ' Misery, uncreated till the crime
" ' Of thy rebellion! how hast thou instill'd
" ' Thy malice into thousands, once upright
" ' And faithful—now prov'd false! But think not here
" ' To trouble holy rest: heaven casts thee out
" ' From all her confines; heaven, the seat of bliss,
" ' Brooks not the works of violence and war.
" ' Hence, then! and evil go with thee along—
" ' Thy offspring, to the place of evil—hell;
" ' Thou and thy wicked crew! there mingle broils,
" ' Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom;
" ' Or some more sudden vengeance, wing'd from God,
" ' Precipitate thee with augmented pain.'
" So spake the prince of angels; to whom thus
" The adversary: ' Nor think thou with wind
" ' Of aery threats to awe, whom yet with deeds
" ' Thou canst not. Hast thou turn'd the least of these
" ' To flight; or if to fall, but that they rise
" ' Unvanquish'd, easier to transact with me,

" ' That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats,
" ' To chase me hence? Err not, that so shall end
" ' The strife which thou call'st evil, but we style
" ' The strife of glory; which we mean to win,
" ' Or turn this heaven itself into the hell
" ' Thou fablest; here, however, to dwell free,
" ' If not to reign: meanwhile thy utmost force,
" ' (And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,)
" ' I fly not; but have sought thee far and nigh.'
" They ended parle, and both address'd for fight
" Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue
" Of angels, can relate, or to what things
" Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift
" Human imagination to such height
" Of godlike power? for likest gods they seem'd,
" Stood they, or mov'd; in stature, motion, arms,
" Fit to decide the empire of great heaven.
" Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air
" Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields
" Blaz'd opposite, while Expectation stood
" In horror: from each hand with speed retir'd,
" Where erst was thickest fight, the angelic throng,
" And left large field, unsafe within the wind
" Of such commotion: such as (to set forth
" Great things by small) if, nature's concord broke,
" Among the constellations war were sprung,
" Two planets, rushing from aspect malign
" Of fiercest opposition, in mid sky
" Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound.
" Together both, with next to almighty arm
" Uplifted imminent, one stroke they aim'd
" That might determine, and not need repeat,
" As not of power at once: nor odds appear'd
" In might, or swift prevention: but the sword
" Of Michael, from the armoury of God
" Was given him temper'd so, that neither keen,
" Nor solid, might resist that edge: it met
" The sword of Satan, with steep force to smite

" Descending, and in half cut sheer; nor staid,
" But, with swift wheel reverse, deep entering shar'd
" All his right side: then Satan first knew pain,
" And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so sore
" The griding sword with discontinuous wound
" Pass'd through him; but the ethereal substance clos'd,
" Not long divisible; and from the gash
" A stream of nectarous humour issuing flow'd
" Sanguine, such as celestial spirits may bleed,
" And all his armour stain'd, erewhile so bright.
" Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run
" By angels many and strong, who interpos'd
" Defence, while others bore him on their shields
" Back to his chariot, where it stood retir'd
" From off the files of war: there they him laid
" Gnashing for anguish, and despite, and shame,
" To find himself not matchless, and his pride
" Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
" His confidence to equal God in power.
" Yet soon he heal'd; for spirits that live throughout
" Vital in every part, (not as frail man,
" In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,)
" Cannot, but by annihilating, die;
" Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
" Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
" All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
" All intellect, all sense; and, as they please,
" They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size,
" Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.
" Meanwhile, in other parts, like deeds deserv'd
" Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought,
" And with fierce ensigns pierc'd the deep array
" Of Moloch, furious king, who him defied,
" And at his chariot-wheels to drag him bound
" Threaten'd; nor from the Holy One of heaven
" Refrain'd his tongue blasphémous: but anon
" Down cloven to the waist, with shatter'd arms
" And uncouth pain, fled bellowing. On each wing

" Uriel and Raphaël, his vaunting foe
" Though huge and in a rock of diamond arm'd,
" Vanquish'd,—Adramelech and Asmadai,
" Two potent thrones, that to be less than gods
" Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,
" Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.
" Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
" The atheist crew; but, with redoubled blow,
" Ariel, and Arioch, and the violence
" Of Ramiel scorch'd and blasted, overthrew.
" I might relate of thousands, and their names
" Eternize here on earth; but those elect
" Angels, contented with their fame in heaven,
" Seek not the praise of men: the other sort,
" In might though wondrous and in acts of war,
" Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom
" Cancell'd from heaven and sacred memory,
" Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell;
" For strength, from truth divided and from just,
" Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise
" And ignominy; yet to glory aspires,
" Vain-glorious, and through infamy seeks fame:
" Therefore eternal silence be their doom.
" And now, their mightiest quell'd, the battle swerv'd,
" With many an inroad gor'd; deformed rout
" Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground
" With shiver'd armour strown; and on a heap
" Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd,
" And fiery-foaming steeds: what stood recoil'd
" O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host,
" Defensive scarce; or, with pale fear surpris'd,
" (Then first with fear surpris'd, and sense of pain,)
" Fled ignominious—to such evil brought
" By sin of disobedience; till that hour
" Not liable to fear, or flight, or pain.
" Far otherwise the inviolable saints,
" In cubic phalanx firm, advanc'd entire,
" Invulnerable—impenetrably arm'd;

" Such high advantages their innocence
" Gave them above their foes, not to have sinn'd—
" Not to have disobey'd: in fight they stood
" Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd
" By wound, though from their place by violence mov'd.
" Now night her course began, and, over heaven
" Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,
" And silence, on the odious din of war:
" Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,
" Victor, and vanquish'd. On the foughten field,
" Michaël, and his angels prevalent,
" Encamping, plac'd in guard their watches round—
" Cherubic waving fires: on the other part,
" Satan, with his rebellious, disappear'd,
" Far in the dark dislodg'd; and, void of rest,
" His Potentates to council call'd by night;
" And, in the midst, thus undismay'd began:
" ' O, now in danger tried, now known in arms
" ' Not to be overpower'd, companions dear!
" ' Found worthy not of liberty alone,
" ' Too mean pretence! but, what we more affect,
" ' Honour, dominion, glory, and renown;
" ' Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight
" ' (And if one day, why not eternal days?)
" ' What heaven's Lord had pow'rfullest to send
" ' Against us from about his throne, and judg'd
" ' Sufficient to subdue us to his will;
" ' But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,
" ' Of future we may deem him, though till now
" ' Omniscient thought. True 'tis, less firmly arm'd,
" ' Some disadvantage we endur'd, and pain
" ' Till now not known, but, known, as soon contemn'd
" ' Since now we find this our empyreal form
" ' Incapable of mortal injury,
" ' Imperishable; and, though pierc'd with wound,
" ' Soon closing, and by native vigour heal'd.
" ' Of evil then so small, as easy think
" ' The remedy. Perhaps more valid arms,

" ' Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
" ' May serve to better us, and worse our foes;
" ' Or equal what between us made the odds,
" ' In nature none: if other hidden cause
" ' Left them superior, while we can preserve
" ' Unhurt our minds, and understanding sound,
" ' Due search and consultation will disclose.'
" He sat: and in the assembly next upstood
" Nisroch, of Principalities the prime:
" As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight,
" Sore toil'd; his riven arms to havoc hewn;
" And, cloudy in aspect, thus answering spake:
" ' Deliverer from new lords! leader to free
" ' Enjoyment of our right as gods! yet hard
" ' For gods, and too unequal work we find,
" ' Against unequal arms to fight in pain,
" ' Against unpain'd, impassive; from which evil
" ' Ruin must needs ensue: for what avails
" ' Valour or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain
" ' Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
" ' Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well
" ' Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
" ' But live content, which is the calmest life:
" ' But pain is perfect misery, the worst
" ' Of evils; and, excessive, overturns
" ' All patience. He who therefore can invent
" ' With what more forcible we may offend
" ' Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
" ' Ourselves with like defence, to me deserves
" ' No less than for deliverance what we owe.'
" Whereto, with look compos'd Satan replied:
" ' Not uninvented that, which thou aright
" ' Believ'st so main to our success, I bring.
" ' Which of us who beholds the bright surface
" ' Of this ethereous mould whereon we stand—
" ' This continent of spacious heaven, adorn'd
" ' With plant, fruit, flower ambrosial, gems, and gold;
" ' Whose eye so superficially surveys

" ' These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
" ' Deep under ground; materials dark and crude,
" ' Of spiritous and fiery spume, till, touch'd
" ' With heaven's ray, and temper'd, they shoot forth
" ' So beauteous, opening to the ambient light?
" ' These, in their dark nativity, the deep
" ' Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame:
" ' Which, into hollow engines, long and round,
" ' Thick-ramm'd, at the other bore with touch of fire
" ' Dilated, and infuriate, shall send forth
" ' From far, with thundering noise, among our foes
" ' Such implements of mischief, as shall dash
" ' To pieces, and o'erwhelm, whatever stands
" ' Adverse; that they shall fear we have disarm'd
" ' The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.
" ' Nor long shall be our labour; yet, ere dawn,
" ' Effect shall end our wish. Meanwhile revive—
" ' Abandon fear—to strength and counsel join'd
" ' Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd.'
" He ended, and his words their drooping cheer
" Enlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.
" The invention all admir'd, and each how he
" To be the inventor miss'd; so easy it seem'd
" Once found, which yet unfound most would have thought
" Impossible. Yet, haply, of thy race
" In future days, if malice should abound,
" Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd
" With dev'lish machination, might devise
" Like instrument to plague the sons of men
" For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.
" Forthwith from council to the work they flew:
" None arguing stood: innumerable hands
" Were ready: in a moment up they turn'd
" Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath
" The originals of nature in their crude
" Conception: sulphurous and nitrous foam
" They found—they mingled; and, with subtle art
" Concocted and adjusted, they reduc'd

" To blackest grain, and into store convey'd:
" Part, hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth
" Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
" Whereof to found their engines, and their balls
" Of missive ruin: part incentive reed
" Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
" So all, ere day-spring, under conscious night
" Secret they finish'd, and in order set
" With silent circumspection, unespied.
" Now when fair morn orient in heaven appear'd,
" Up rose the victor-angels, and to arms
" The matin trumpet sung: in arms they stood
" Of golden panoply, refulgent host!
" Soon banded: others from the dawning hills
" Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed scour—
" Each quarter, to descry the distant foe—
" Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,
" In motion, or in halt: him soon they met
" Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow
" But firm battalion. Back with speediest sail
" Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,
" Came flying, and in mid air aloud thus cried:
" ' Arm, warriors—arm for fight! the foe at hand,
" ' Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
" ' This day: fear not his flight; so thick a cloud
" ' He comes, and settled in his face I see
" ' Sad resolution, and secure. Let each
" ' His adamantine coat gird well, and each
" ' Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield,
" ' Borne even, or high; for this day will pour down,
" ' If I conjecture aught, no drizzling shower,
" ' But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.'
" So warn'd he them, aware themselves; and soon
" In order, quit of all impediment,
" Instant without disturb they took alarm,
" And onward mov'd embattled: when, behold!
" Not distant far with heavy pace the foe
" Approaching gross, and huge, in hollow cube

" Training his devilish engin'ry, impal'd
" On every side with shadowing squadrons deep
" To hide the fraud. At interview both stood
" A while; but suddenly at head appear'd
" Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud:
" ' Vanguard! to right and left the front unfold;
" ' That all may see who hate us, how we seek
" ' Peace and composure: and, with open breast,
" ' Stand ready to receive them, if they like
" ' Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
" ' But that I doubt: however, witness heaven,
" ' Heaven witness thou anon, while we discharge
" ' Freely our part! Ye, who appointed stand,
" ' Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
" ' What we propound, and loud that all may hear.'
" So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce
" Had ended; when to right and left the front
" Divided, and to either flank retir'd:
" Which to our eyes discover'd, new and strange,
" A triple mounted row of pillars laid
" On wheels, (for like to pillars most they seem'd,
" Or hollow'd bodies made of oak, or fir,
" With branches lopt, in wood or mountain fell'd,)
" Brass, iron, stony mould; had not their mouths
" With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
" Portending hollow truce: at each behind
" A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
" Stood waving tipt with fire; while we, suspense,
" Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd;
" Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds
" Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied
" With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,
" But soon obscur'd with smoke, all heaven appear'd,
" From those deep-throated engines belch'd, whose roar
" Embowell'd with outrageous noise the air,
" And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
" Their devilish glut—chain'd thunderbolts and hail
" Of iron globes, which, on the victor host

" Levell'd, with such impetuous fury smote,
" That, whom they hit, none on their feet might stand,
" Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell
" By thousands—angel on archangel roll'd—
" The sooner for their arms: unarm'd, they might
" Have easily, as spirits, evaded swift
" By quick contraction, or remove; but now
" Foul dissipation follow'd, and forc'd rout;
" Nor serv'd it to relax their serried files.
" What should they do? if on they rush'd, repulse
" Repeated, and indecent overthrow
" Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,
" And to their foes a laughter; for, in view,
" Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,
" In posture to displode their second tire
" Of thunder: back defeated to return
" They worse abhorred. Satan beheld their plight,
" And to his mates thus in derision call'd:
" ' O friends! why come not on these victors proud?
" ' Erewhile they fierce were coming; and when we,
" ' To entertain them fair with open front
" ' And breast, (what could we more?) propounded terms
" ' Of composition, straight they chang'd their minds,
" ' Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
" ' As they would dance; yet for a dance they seem'd
" ' Somewhat extravagant and wild; perhaps
" ' For joy of offer'd peace: but I suppose,
" ' If our proposals once again were heard,
" ' We should compel them to a quick result.'
" To whom thus Belial, in like gamesome mood:
" ' Leader! the terms we sent were terms of weight,
" ' Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home;
" ' Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
" ' And stumbled many: who receives them right,
" ' Had need from head to foot well understand;
" ' Not understood, this gift they have besides—
" ' They show us when our foes walk not upright.'
" So they amongst themselves in pleasant vein

" Stood scoffing, heighten'd in their thoughts beyond
" All doubt of victory: eternal Might
" To match with their inventions they presum'd
" So easy! and of his thunder made a scorn,
" And all his host derided, while they stood
" A while in trouble: but they stood not long;
" Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms
" Against such hellish mischief fit to oppose.
" Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
" Which God hath in his mighty angels plac'd!)
" Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
" (For earth hath this variety from heaven
" Of pleasure, situate in hill and dale,)
" Light as the light'ning glimpse they ran—they flew;
" From their foundations loos'ning to and fro,
" They pluck'd the seated hills, with all their load—
" Rocks, waters, woods; and, by the shaggy tops
" Uplifting, bore them in their hands. Amaze,
" Be sure, and terror, seiz'd the rebel host,
" When, coming towards them, so dread they saw
" The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;
" Till on those cursed engines' triple row
" They saw them whelm'd, and all their confidence
" Under the weight of mountains buried deep—
" Themselves invaded next, and on their heads
" Main promontories flung, which in the air
" Came shadowing, and oppress'd whole legions arm'd
" Their armour help'd their harm, crush'd in and bruis
" Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain
" Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
" Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind
" Out of such prison, though spirits of purest light—
" Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown.
" The rest, in imitation, to like arms
" Betook them, and the neighbouring hills uptore:
" So hills amid the air encounter'd hills,
" Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire;
" That underground they fought in dismal shade:

" Infernal noise! war seem'd a civil game
" To this uproar; horrid confusion heap'd
" Upon confusion rose. And now all heaven
" Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread,
" Had not the Almighty Father, where he sits
" Shrin'd in his sanctuary of heaven secure,
" Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
" This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd;
" That his great purpose he might so fulfil,
" To honour his anointed Son, aveng'd
" Upon his enemies, and to declare
" All power on him transferr'd: whence to his Son,
" The assessor of his throne, he thus began:
" ' Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd!
" ' Son, in whose face invisible is beheld
" ' Visibly what by Deity I am,
" ' And in whose hand what by decree I do:
" ' Second omnipotence! two days are past,
" (Two days, as we compute the days of heaven,)
" ' Since Michael, and his Powers, went forth to tame
" ' These disobedient: sore hath been their fight,
" ' As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd;
" ' For to themselves I left them: and thou know'st
" ' Equal in their creation they were form'd,
" ' Save what sin hath impair'd; which yet hath wrought
" ' Insensibly, for I suspend their doom:
" ' Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
" ' Endless, and no solution will be found.
" ' War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,
" ' And to disorder'd rage let loose the reins,
" ' With mountains, as with weapons, arm'd; which makes
" ' Wild work in heaven, and dangerous to the main.
" ' Two days are therefore past, the third is thine:
" ' For thee I have ordain'd it: and thus far
" ' Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine
" ' Of ending this great war, since none but thou
" ' Can end it. Into thee such virtue, and grace
" ' Immense, I have transfus'd, that all may know

" ' In heaven and hell thy power above compare;
" ' And this perverse commotion govern'd thus,
" ' To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
" ' Of all things—to be Heir, and to be King
" ' By sacred unction, thy deserved right.
" ' Go then, thou Mightiest! in thy Father's might;
" ' Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
" ' That shake heaven's basis, bring forth all my war,
" ' My bow, and thunder—my almighty arms
" ' Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;
" ' Pursue these sons of darkness; drive them out
" ' From all heaven's bounds into the utter deep:
" ' There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
" ' God, and Messiah his anointed King.'
" He said, and on his Son with rays direct
" Shone full: he all his Father full express'd,
" Ineffably into his face receiv'd:
" And thus the filial Godhead answering spake:
" ' O Father! O Supreme of heavenly Thrones!
" ' First, Highest, Holiest, Best! Thou always seek
" ' To glorify thy Son; I always thee,
" ' As is most just: this I my glory account,
" ' My exaltation, and my whole delight,
" ' That thou in me, well pleas'd, declar'st thy will
" ' Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.
" ' Sceptre and power, thy giving, I assume,
" ' And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
" ' Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee
" ' For ever; and in me all whom thou lov'st:
" ' But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on
" ' Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on—
" ' Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
" ' Arm'd with thy might, rid heaven of these rebell'd
" ' To their prepar'd ill mansion driven down,
" ' To chains of darkness, and the undying worm,
" ' That from thy just obedience could revolt,
" ' Whom to obey is happiness entire.
" ' Then shall thy saints unmix'd, and from the impure

" ' Far separate, circling thy holy mount,
" ' Unfeigned hallelujahs to thee sing—
" ' Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief.'
" So said, he, o'er his sceptre bowing, rose
" From the right hand of Glory where he sat:
" And the third sacred morn began to shine,
" Dawning through heaven. Forth rush'd with whirl-
" wind sound
" The chariot of Paternal Deity,
" Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
" Itself instinct with spirit, but convoy'd
" By four Cherubic shapes: four faces each
" Had wondrous; as with stars, their bodies all,
" And wings, were set with eyes—with eyes the wheels
" Of beryl; and careering fires between:
" Over their heads a crystal firmament,
" Where, on a sapphire throne, inlaid with pure
" Amber, and colours of the showery arch,
" He, in celestial panoply all arm'd
" Of radiant Urim, (work divinely wrought,)
" Ascended: at his right hand Victory
" Sat eagle-wing'd; beside him hung his bow,
" And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd;
" And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
" Of smoke, and bickering flame, and sparkles dire.
" Attended with ten thousand thousand saints,
" He onward came; far off his coming shone!
" And twenty thousand (I their number heard)
" Chariots of God, half on each hand, were seen:
" He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
" On the crystalline sky; in sapphire thron'd,
" Illustrious far and wide: but by his own
" First seen; them unexpected joy surpris'd,
" When the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd
" Aloft, by angels borne—his sign in heaven;
" Under whose conduct Michael soon reduc'd
" His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
" Under their head embodied all in one.

" Before him Power Divine his way prepar'd;
" At his command the uprooted hills retir'd,
" Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
" Obsequious; Heaven his wonted face renew'd,
" And with fresh flow'rets hill and valley smil'd.
" This saw his hapless foes, but stood obdur'd,
" And to rebellious fight rallied their powers;
" Insensate! hope conceiving from despair.
" In heavenly spirits could such perverseness dwell,
" But to convince the proud what signs avail,
" Or wonders move the obdurate to relent?
" They, harden'd more by what might most reclaim,
" Grieving to see his glory, at the sight
" Took envy; and, aspiring to his height,
" Stood re-embattled fierce; by force, or fraud,
" Weening to prosper, and at length prevail
" Against God and Messiah, or to fall
" In universal ruin last: and now
" To final battle drew, disdaining flight,
" Or faint retreat: when the great Son of God,
" To all his host on either hand, thus spake:
" ' Stand still in bright array, ye Saints! here stand,
" ' Ye Angels arm'd! this day from battle rest:
" ' Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
" ' Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause:
" ' And as ye have receiv'd, so have ye done
" ' Invincibly. But of this cursed crew
" ' The punishment to other hand belongs:
" ' Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints.
" ' Number to this day's work is not ordain'd,
" ' Nor multitude: stand only, and behold
" ' God's indignation on these godless pour'd
" ' By me: not you, but me, they have despis'd,
" ' Yet envied; against me is all their rage;
" ' Because the Father, to whom in heaven supreme
" ' Kingdom, and power, and glory, appertains,
" ' Hath honour'd me, according to his will.
" ' Therefore to me their doom he hath assign'd:

" ' That they may have their wish, to try with me
" ' In battle which the stronger proves—they all,
" ' Or I alone against them; since by strength
" ' They measure all, of other excellence
" ' Not emulous, nor care who them excels:
" ' Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.'
" So spake the Son, and into terror chang'd
" His countenance, too severe to be beheld,
" And full of wrath bent on his enemies.
" At once, the four spread out their starry wings,
" With dreadful shade contiguous; and the orbs
" Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound
" Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host.
" He on his impious foes right onward drove,
" Gloomy as night: under his burning wheels
" The steadfast empyréan shook throughout;
" All but the throne itself of God. Full soon
" Among them he arriv'd, in his right hand
" Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent
" Before him, such as in their souls infix'd
" Plagues: they, astonish'd, all resistance lost—
" All courage: down their idle weapons dropt:
" O'er shields, and helms, and helmed heads he rode,
" Of Thrones, and mighty Seraphim prostrate,
" That wish'd the mountains now might be again
" Thrown on them, as a shelter from his ire.
" Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
" His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd four
" Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
" Distinct alike with multitude of eyes:
" One spirit in them rul'd; and every eye
" Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
" Among the accurs'd, that wither'd all their strength,
" And of their wonted vigour left them drain'd—
" Exhausted—spiritless—afflicted—fall'n!
" Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
" His thunder in mid volley; for he meant
" Not to destroy, but root them out of heaven:

" The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd
" Of goats, or timorous flock together throng'd,
" Drove them before him thunderstruck, pursu'd
" With terrors and with furies, to the bounds
" And crystal wall of heaven; which, op'ning wide,
" Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd
" Into the wasteful deep: the monstrous sight
" Struck them with horror backward; but far worse
" Urg'd them behind: headlong themselves they threw
" Down from the verge of heaven: eternal wrath
" Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.
" Hell heard the unsufferable noise: hell saw
" Heaven ruining from heaven, and would have fled
" Affrighted; but strict Fate had cast too deep
" Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound.
" Nine days they fell: confounded Chaos roar'd,
" And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
" Through his wild anarchy; so huge a rout
" Encumber'd him with ruin: hell at last
" Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd—
" Hell, their fit habitation, fraught with fire
" Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain:
" Disburden'd heaven rejoic'd, and soon repair'd
" Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.
" Sole Victor, from the expulsion of his foes,
" Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
" To meet him all his saints, who silent stood
" Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
" With jubilee advanc'd; and, as they went,
" Shaded with branching palm, each order bright
" Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
" Son, Heir, and Lord! to him dominion given,
" Worthiest to reign. He, celebrated, rode
" Triumphant through mid heaven, into the courts
" And temple of his mighty Father thron'd
" On high! who into glory him receiv'd,
" Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.

"Thus, measuring things in heaven by things on
"earth,
"At thy request, and that thou mayest beware
"By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd
"What might have else to human race been hid;
"The discord which befel, and war in heaven,
"Among the angelic Powers, and the deep fall
"Of those too high aspiring who rebell'd
"With Satan—he who envies now thy state,
"Who now is plotting how he may seduce
"Thee also from obedience, that, with him,
"Bereav'd of happiness, thou may'st partake
"His punishment—eternal misery;
"Which would be all his solace and revenge,
"As a despite done against the Most High,
"Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
"But listen not to his temptations: warn
"Thy weaker: let it profit thee to have heard,
"By terrible example, the reward
"Of disobedience: firm they might have stood,
"Yet fell. Remember! and fear to transgress."

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

RAPHAEL, at the request of Adam, relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his angels out of heaven, declared his pleasure to create another world, and other creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with glory, and attendance of angels, to perform the work of creation in six days; the angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof, and his re-ascension into heaven.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VII.

DESCEND from heaven, Urania! (by that name
If rightly thou art call'd,) whose voice divine
Following, above the Olympian hill I soar,
Above the flight of Pegasean wing.
The meaning, not the name, I call: for thou,
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'st; but, heavenly-born,
Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
Thou with Eternal Wisdom didst converse—
Wisdom thy sister; and with her didst play
In presence of the Almighty Father, pleas'd
With thy celestial song. Up-led by thee,
Into the heaven of heavens I have presum'd,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,
Thy temp'ring: with like safety guided down,
Return me to my native element;
Lest, from this flying steed unrein'd, (as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower clime,)
Dismounted, on th' Alëian field I fall,
Erroneous there to wander, and forlorn.
Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound
Within the visible diurnal sphere:

Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil days;
On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
And solitude! yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers nightly; or when morn
Purples the east. Still govern thou my song,
Urania! and fit audience find, though few:
But drive far off the barb'rous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers—the race
Of that vile rout that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the savage clamour drown'd
Both harp and voice; nor could the Muse defend
Her son. So fail not thou who thee implores;
For thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.
Say, goddess, what ensued when Raphaël,
The affable archangel, had forewarn'd
Adam, by dire example, to beware
Apostasy, by what befel in heaven
To those apostates: lest the like befal
In Paradise to Adam, or his race,
Charg'd not to touch the interdicted tree,
If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
So easily obey'd, amid the choice
Of all tastes else to please their appetite,
Though wand'ring.
He, with his consorted Eve,
The story heard attentive, and was fill'd
With admiration, and deep muse, to hear
Of things so high and strange—things, to their thought
So unimaginable, as hate in heaven,
And war so near the peace of God in bliss,
With such confusion: but the evil, soon
Driv'n back, redounded as a flood on those
From whom it sprung, impossible to mix
With blessedness. Whence Adam soon repeal'd

The doubts that in his heart arose: and now,
Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know
What nearer might concern him—how this world
Of heaven, and earth conspicuous, first began—
When, and whereof created—for what cause—
What within Eden, or without, was done
Before his memory, as one whose drought
Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current stream,
Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites,
Proceeded thus to ask his heavenly guest:
" Great things, and full of wonder in our ears,
" Far diff'ring from this world, thou hast reveal'd,
" Divine interpreter! by favour sent
" Down from the empyréan, to forewarn
" Us timely of what might else have been our loss
" Unknown, which human knowledge could not reach;
" For which to the infinitely Good we owe
" Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
" Receive, with solemn purpose to observe
" Immutably his sov'reign will—the end
" Of what we are. But since thou hast vouchsaf'd
" Gently, for our instruction, to impart
" Things above earthly thought, which yet concern'd
" Our knowing, as to Highest Wisdom seem'd,
" Deign to descend now lower, and relate
" What may no less perhaps avail us known—
" How first began this heaven which we behold
" Distant so high, with moving fires adorn'd
" Innumerable; and this which yields, or fills,
" All space, the ambient air, wide interfus'd,
" Embracing round this florid earth—what cause
" Mov'd the Creator, in his holy rest
" Through all eternity, so late to build
" In Chaos; and the work begun, how soon
" Absolv'd; if unforbid thou may'st unfold
" What we, not to explore the secrets, ask,
" Of his eternal empire, but the more
" To magnify his works, the more we know.

" And the great light of day yet wants to run
" Much of his race, though steep, suspense in heaven
" Held by thy voice: thy potent voice he hears,
" And longer will delay to hear thee tell
" His generation, and the rising birth
" Of nature from the unapparent deep:
" Or if the star of evening, and the moon,
" Haste to thy audience, night with her will bring
" Silence; and sleep, list'ning to thee, will watch;
" Or we can bid his absence, till thy song
" End, and dismiss thee ere the morning shine."
Thus Adam his illustrious guest besought;
And thus the godlike angel answer'd mild:
" This also thy request, with caution ask'd,
" Obtain: though, to recount almighty works,
" What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,
" Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?
" Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve
" To glorify the Maker, and infer
" Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
" Thy hearing: such commission from above
" I have receiv'd, to answer thy desire
" Of knowledge within bounds; beyond, abstain
" To ask; nor let thine own inventions hope
" Things not reveal'd, which the invisible King,
" Only Omniscient, hath suppress'd in night,
" To none communicable in earth or heaven:
" Enough is left besides to search and know:
" But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
" Her temperance over appetite, to know
" In measure what the mind may well contain;
" Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
" Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.
" Know then, that, after Lucifer from heaven
" (So call him, brighter once, amidst the host
" Of angels, than that star the stars among,)
" Fell with his flaming legions through the deep
" Into his place, and the great Son return'd

" Victorious with his saints, the Omnipotent
" Eternal Father from his throne beheld
" Their multitude, and to his Son thus spake:
" ' At least our envious foe hath fail'd, who thought
" ' All like himself rebellious, by whose aid
" ' This inaccessible high strength, the seat
" ' Of Deity supreme, us dispossessed,
" ' He trusted to have seiz'd; and into fraud
" ' Drew many, whom their place knows here no more:
" ' Yet far the greater part have kept, I see,
" ' Their station: heaven, yet populous, retains
" ' Number sufficient to possess her realms
" ' Though wide, and this high temple to frequent
" ' With ministeries due, and solemn rites:
" ' But, lest his heart exalt him in the harm
" ' Already done, to have dispeopled heaven,
" ' My damage fondly deem'd, I can repair
" ' That detriment, if such it be to lose
" ' Self-lost; and in a moment will create
" ' Another world—out of one man a race
" ' Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
" ' Not here; till, by degrees of merit rais'd,
" ' They open to themselves at length the way
" ' Up hither, under long obedience tried;
" ' And earth be chang'd to heaven, and heaven to
" ' earth—
" ' One kingdom, joy, and union, without end.
" ' Meanwhile inhabit lax, ye Powers of heaven!
" ' And thou, my Word, begotten Son! by thee
" ' This I perform; speak thou, and be it done!
" ' My overshadowing Spirit and Might with thee
" ' I send along: ride forth, and bid the deep
" ' Within appointed bounds be heaven and earth;
" ' Boundless the deep, because I AM who fill
" ' Infinitude; nor vacuous the space,
" ' Though I, uncircumscrib'd myself, retire,
" ' And put not forth my goodness, which is free
" ' To act, or not: necessity, and chance,

" ' Approach not me; and what I will is fate.'
" So spake the Almighty, and to what he spake
" His Word, the filial Godhead, gave effect.
" Immediate are the acts of God, more swift
" Than time, or motion; but to human ears
" Cannot without procéss of speech be told—
" So told, as earthly notion can receive.
" Great triumph and rejoicing was in heaven,
" When such was heard declar'd the Almighty's will:
" Glory they sung to the Most High—good will
" To future men, and in their dwellings peace—
" Glory to him, whose just avenging ire
" Had driven out the ungodly from his sight
" And the habitations of the just—to him
" Glory and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd
" Good out of evil to create—instead
" Of spirits malign, a better race to bring
" Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
" His good to worlds, and ages infinite!
" So sang the Hierarchies. Meanwhile the Son
" On his great expedition now appear'd,
" Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crown'd
" Of majesty divine: sapience, and love
" Immense, and all his Father, in him shone.
" About his chariot numberless were pour'd
" Cherub, and Seraph, Potentates, and Thrones,
" And Virtues—wing'd Spirits, and chariots wing'd
" From the armoury of God; where stand of old
" Myriads, between two brazen mountains lodg'd
" Against a solemn day, harness'd at hand,
" Celestial equipage! and now came forth
" Spontaneous, for within them spirit liv'd,
" Attendant on their Lord: heaven open'd wide
" Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound!
" On golden hinges moving, to let forth
" The King of Glory, in his powerful Word,
" And Spirit, coming to create new worlds.
" On heavenly ground they stood; and from the sh[illegible]

" They view'd the vast immeasurable abyss,
" Outrageous as a sea—dark, wasteful, wild—
" Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds,
" And surging waves as mountains, to assault
" Heaven's height, and with the centre mix the pole.
" ' Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou, deep, peace!'
" Said then the omnific Word; ' your discord end!'
" Nor staid; but, on the wings of Cherubim
" Uplifted, in paternal glory rode
" Far into Chaos, and the world unborn;
" For Chaos heard his voice. Him all his train
" Follow'd in bright procession, to behold
" Creation, and the wonders of his might.
" Then staid the fervid wheels; and in his hand
" He took the golden compasses, prepar'd
" In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
" This universe, and all created things:
" One foot he centred, and the other turn'd
" Round through the vast profundity obscure;
" And said, ' Thus far extend—thus far thy bounds—
" ' This be thy just circumference, O world!'
" Thus God the heaven created; thus the earth—
" Matter unform'd and void: darkness profound
" Cover'd the abyss; but on the wat'ry calm
" His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
" And vital virtue infus'd, and vital warmth,
" Throughout the fluid mass; but downward purg'd
" The black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs,
" Adverse to life: then founded, then conglob'd
" Like things to like; the rest to several place
" Disparted; and, between, spun out the air:
" And earth, self-balanc'd, on her centre hung.
" ' Let there be light!' said God: and forthwith light
" Ethereal—first of things—quintessence pure,
" Sprung from the deep; and from her native East
" To journey through the aery gloom began,
" Sphered in a radiant cloud; for yet the sun
" Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle

" Sojourn'd the while. God saw the light was good;
" And light from darkness by the hemisphere
" Divided: light the Day, and darksome Night,
" He nam'd. Thus was the First Day ev'n and morn:
" Nor past uncelebrated, nor unsung,
" By the celestial quires, when orient light
" Exhaling first from darkness they beheld—
" Birth-day of heaven and earth! with joy, and shout,
" The hollow universal orb they fill'd;
" And touch'd their golden harps, and hymning prais'd
" God and his works; Creator him they sung,
" Both when First Ev'ning was, and when First Morn.
" Again, God said, 'Let there be firmament
" 'Amid the waters, and let it divide
" 'The waters from the waters;' and God made
" The firmament—expanse of liquid, pure,
" Transparent, elemental air, diffus'd
" In circuit to the uttermost convex
" Of this great round—partition firm and sure,
" The waters underneath from those above
" Dividing: for as earth, so he the world
" Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
" Crystalline ocean, and the loud misrule
" Of Chaos far remov'd; lest fierce extremes
" Contiguous might distemper the whole frame.
" And heaven he nam'd the firmament; so ev'n
" And morning chorus sung the Second Day.
" The earth was form'd, but in the womb as yet
" Of waters, embryon immature, involv'd,
" Appear'd not: over all the face of earth
" Main ocean flow'd, not idle; but, with warm
" Prolific humour soft'ning all her globe,
" Fermented the great mother to conceive,
" Satiate with genial moisture: when God said,
" 'Be gather'd now, ye waters under heaven,
" 'Into one place, and let dry land appear.'
" Immediately the mountains huge appear
" Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave

" Into the clouds: their tops ascend the sky:
" So high as heav'd the tumid hills, so low
" Down sunk a hollow bottom, broad, and deep—
" Capacious bed of waters: thither they
" Hasted with glad precipitance, uproll'd,
" As drops on dust conglobing from the dry:
" Part rise in crystal wall, or ridge direct,
" For haste; such flight the great command impress'd
" On the swift floods: as armies at the call
" Of trumpets (for of armies thou hast heard)
" Troop to their standard; so the wat'ry throng,
" Wave rolling after wave, where way they found;
" If steep, with torrent rapture; if through plain,
" Soft ebbing; nor withstood them rock or hill;
" But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
" With serpent error wand'ring, found their way,
" And on the washy ooze deep channels wore;
" (Easy, ere God had bid the ground be dry,)
" All, but within those banks, where rivers now
" Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.
" The dry land, earth, and the great receptacle
" Of congregated waters, he called seas;
" And saw that it was good: and said, ' Let the earth
" ' Put forth the verdant grass, herb yielding seed,
" ' And fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind,
" ' Whose seed is in herself upon the earth!'
" He scarce had said, when the bare earth, till then
" Desert, and bare, unsightly, unadorn'd,
" Brought forth the tender grass, whose verdure clad
" Her universal face with pleasant green;
" Then herbs of every leaf that sudden flower'd,
" Opening their various colours, and made gay
" Her bosom, smelling sweet: and, these scarce blown,
" Forth flourish'd thick the clust'ring vine—forth crept
" The swelling gourd—up stood the corny reed
" Embattled in her field, and the humble shrub,
" And bush with frizzled hair implicit: last,
" Rose, as in dance, the stately trees, and spread

" Their branches hung with copious fruit, or gemm'd
" Their blossoms: with high woods the hills were crown'd;
" With tufts the valleys, and each fountain-side;
" With borders long the rivers; that earth now
" Seem'd like to heaven, a seat where gods might dwell,
" Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
" Her sacred shades. Though God had yet not rain'd
" Upon the earth, and man to till the ground
" None was; but from the earth a dewy mist
" Went up, and water'd all the ground, and each
" Plant of the field, which, ere it was in the earth,
" God made, and every herb, before it grew
" On the green stem. God saw that it was good:
" So ev'n and morn recorded the Third Day.
" Again the Almighty spake: ' Let there be lights
" ' High in the expanse of heaven, to divide
" ' The day from night; and let them be for signs,
" ' For seasons, and for days, and circling years;
" ' And let them be for lights, as I ordain
" ' Their office in the firmament of heaven,
" ' To give light on the earth:' and it was so.
" And God made two great lights, (great, for their use
" To man,) the greater to have rule by day,
" The less by night, altern; and made the stars,
" And set them in the firmament of heaven,
" To illuminate the earth, and rule the day
" In their vicissitude, and rule the night,
" And light from darkness to divide. God saw,
" Surveying his great work, that it was good:
" For of celestial bodies first the sun,
" A mighty sphere he fram'd, unlightsome first,
" Though of ethereal mould; then form'd the moon
" Globose, and every magnitude of stars;
" And sow'd with stars the heaven, thick as a field:
" Of light by far the greater part he took,
" Transplanted from her cloudy shrine, and plac'd
" In the sun's orb, made porous to receive
" And drink the liquid light; firm to retain

" Her gather'd beams—great palace now of light.
" Hither, as to their fountain, other stars
" Repairing, in their golden urns draw light;
" And hence the morning planet gilds her horns:
" By tincture, or reflection, they augment
" Their small peculiar, though, from human sight
" So far remote, with diminution seen.
" First in his East the glorious lamp was seen,
" Regent of day, and all the horizon round
" Invested with bright rays, jocund to run
" His longitude through heaven's high road; the gray
" Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danc'd,
" Shedding sweet influence. Less bright the moon,
" But opposite in levell'd West was set—
" His mirror, with full face borrowing her light
" From him; for other light she needed none
" In that aspect; and still that distance keeps
" Till night; then in the East her turn she shines,
" Revolv'd on heaven's great axle, and her reign
" With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
" With thousand thousand stars, that then appear'd
" Spangling the hemisphere—then first adorn'd
" With their bright luminaries, that set and rose.
" Glad ev'ning and glad morn crown'd the Fourth Day.
" And God said, ' Let the waters generate
" ' Reptile with spawn abundant, living soul:
" ' And let fowl fly above the earth, with wings
" ' Display'd on th' open firmament of heaven!'
" And God created the great whales, and each
" Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously
" The waters generated by their kinds;
" And every bird of wing after his kind;
" And saw that it was good, and bless'd them, saying,
" ' Be fruitful, multiply; and, in the seas,
" ' And lakes, and running streams, the waters fill:
" ' And let the fowl be multiplied on the earth!'
" Forthwith the sounds and seas, each creek and bay,
" With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals

" Of fish, that, with their fins and shining scales,
" Glide under the green wave, in sculls that oft
" Bank the mid sea: part single, or with mate,
" Graze the sea-weed their pasture, and through groves
" Of coral stray; or, sporting with quick glance,
" Show to the sun their wav'd coats dropt with gold;
" Or, in their pearly shells at ease, attend
" Moist nutriment; or, under rocks, their food
" In jointed armour watch: on smooth, the seal
" And bended dolphins play: part huge of bulk,
" Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
" Tempest the ocean: there leviathan,
" Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
" Stretch'd like a promontory, sleeps or swims,
" And seems a moving land; and at his gills
" Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out, a sea.
" Meanwhile the tepid caves, and fens, and shores,
" Their brood as num'rous hatch, from the egg that, soon
" Bursting with kindly rapture, forth disclos'd
" Their callow young; but feather'd soon, and fledge,
" They summ'd their pens; and, soaring the air sublime,
" With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud
" In prospect: there the eagle and the stork
" On cliffs and cedar-tops their eyries build:
" Part, loosely wing the region; part, more wise,
" In common, rang'd in figure wedge their way,
" Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
" Their aery caravan, high over seas
" Flying, and over lands, with mutual wing
" Easing their flight; so steers the prudent crane
" Her annual voyage, borne on winds; the air
" Floats as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes.
" From branch to branch the smaller birds with songs
" Solac'd the woods, and spread their painted wings
" Till ev'n; nor then the solemn nightingale
" Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft lays.
" Others, on silver lakes and rivers, bath'd
" Their downy breast; the swan, with arched neck

" Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
" Her state with oary feet; yet oft they quit
" The dank, and, rising on stiff pennons, tower
" The mid aëreal sky. Others on ground
" Walk'd firm; the crested cock whose clarion sounds
" The silent hours, and the other whose gay train
" Adorns him, colour'd with the florid hue
" Of rainbows and starry eyes. The waters thus
" With fish replenish'd, and the air with fowl,
" Ev'ning and morn solemniz'd the Fifth Day.
" The Sixth, and of creation last, arose
" With ev'ning harps and matin; when God said,
" ' Let the earth bring forth soul living in her kind,
" ' Cattle, and creeping things, and beast of the earth,
" ' Each in their kind!'
" The earth obey'd, and straight
" Opening her fertile womb, teem'd at a birth
" Innum'rous living creatures, perfect forms,
" Limb'd and full grown. Out of the ground up rose,
" As from his lair, the wild beast, where he wons
" In forest wild, in thicket, brake, or den;
" Among the trees in pairs they rose, they walk'd:
" The cattle, in the fields and meadows green:
" Those rare and solitary; these in flocks
" Pasturing at once, and in broad herds upsprung.
" The grassy clods now calv'd; now half appear'd
" The tawny lion, pawing to get free
" His hinder parts; then springs, as broke from bonds,
" And rampant shakes his brinded mane: the ounce,
" The libbard, and the tiger, as the mole
" Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw
" In hillocks: the swift stag from under ground
" Bore up his branching head: scarce from his mould
" Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheav'd
" His vastness: fleec'd the flocks and bleating rose,
" As plants: ambiguous between sea and land,
" The river-horse, and scaly crocodile.
" At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,

" Insect or worm: those wav'd their limber fans
" For wings, and smallest lineaments exact
" In all the liv'ries deck'd of summer's pride,
" With spots of gold and purple, azure and green:
" These, as a line, their long dimension drew,
" Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all
" Minims of nature; some of serpent-kind,
" Wondrous in length and corpulence, involv'd
" Their snaky folds, and added wings. First crept
" The parsimonious emmet, provident
" Of future; in small room large heart enclos'd;
" Pattern of just equality perhaps
" Hereafter, join'd in her popular tribes
" Of commonalty. Swarming next, appear'd
" The female bee, that feeds her husband drone
" Deliciously, and builds her waxen cells
" With honey stor'd. The rest are numberless,
" And thou their natures know'st, and gav'st them names,
" Needless to thee repeated: nor unknown
" The serpent, subtlest beast of all the field,
" Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen eyes
" And hairy mane terrific, though to thee
" Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.
" Now heaven in all her glory shone, and roll'd
" Her motions as the great first Mover's hand
" First wheel'd their course: earth in her rich attire
" Consummate lovely smil'd! air, water, earth,
" By fowl, fish, beast, was flown, was swum, was walk'd,
" Frequent; and of the Sixth Day yet remain'd—
" There wanted yet the master-work, the end
" Of all yet done; a creature, who, not prone
" And brute as other creatures, but endu'd
" With sanctity of reason, might erect
" His stature, and upright with front serene
" Govern the rest, self-knowing; and from thence
" Magnanimous, to correspond with heaven:
" But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
" Descends; thither with heart, and voice, and eyes

" Directed in devotion, to adore
" And worship God Supreme, who made him chief
" Of all his works: therefore the Omnipotent
" Eternal Father (for where is not he
" Present?) thus to his Son audibly spake:
" ' Let us make now man in our image, man
" ' In our similitude; and let them rule
" ' Over the fish and fowl of sea and air,
" ' Beast of the field, and over all the earth,
" ' And every creeping thing that creeps the ground!'
" This said, he form'd thee, Adam, thee, O man!
" Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
" The breath of life; in his own image he
" Created thee, in the image of God
" Express; and thou becam'st a living soul.
" Male he created thee; but thy consort
" Female, for race; then bless'd mankind, and said
" ' Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth;
" ' Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
" ' Over fish of the sea, and fowl of the air,
" ' And every living thing that moves on the earth.'
" Wherever thus created, for no place
" Is yet distinct by name, thence, as thou know'st,
" He brought thee into this delicious grove,
" This garden, planted with the trees of God,
" Delectable both to behold and taste;
" And freely all their pleasant fruit for food
" Gave thee: all sorts are here that all th' earth yields,
" Variety without end: but of the tree
" Which, tasted, works knowledge of good and evil,
" Thou may'st not; in the day thou eat'st, thou diest;
" Death is the penalty impos'd: beware,
" And govern well thy appetite; lest Sin
" Surprise thee, and her black attendant Death.
" Here finish'd he, and all that he had made
" View'd, and, behold, all was entirely good!
" So ev'n and morn accomplish'd the Sixth Day:
" Yet not till the Creator, from his work

" Desisting, though unwearied, up return'd,
" Up to the heaven of heavens, his high abode;
" Thence to behold this new-created world,
" The addition of his empire—how it show'd
" In prospect from his throne—how good—how fair,
" Answ'ring his great idea. Up he rode
" Follow'd with acclamation, and the sound
" Symphonious of ten thousand harps, that tun'd
" Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air
" Resounded,—(thou remember'st, for thou heard'st,)—
" The heavens and all the constellations rung,—
" The planets in their station list'ning stood,—
" While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.
" ' Open, ye everlasting gates!' they sung,
" ' Open, ye heavens! your living doors; let in
" ' The great Creator from his work return'd
" ' Magnificent, his six days' work, a world!
" ' Open, and henceforth oft; for God will deign
" ' To visit oft the dwellings of just men,
" ' Delighted; and with frequent intercourse
" ' Thither will send his winged messengers,
" ' On errands of supernal grace.' So sung
" The glorious train ascending. He through heaven,
" That open'd wide her blazing portals, led
" To God's eternal house direct the way;
" A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold,
" And pavement stars, as stars to thee appear
" Seen in the galaxy,—that milky way
" Which nightly, as a circling zone, thou seest
" Powder'd with stars.
" And now on earth the Seventh
" Ev'ning arose in Eden, for the sun
" Was set, and twilight from the East came on,
" Forerunning night; when, at the holy mount
" Of heaven's high-seated top,—the imperial throne
" Of Godhead fix'd for ever firm and sure,—
" The Filial Power arriv'd, and sat him down
" With his great Father: for he also went

" Invisible, yet staid, (such privilege
" Hath Omnipresence,) and the work ordain'd,
" Author and End of all things; and, from work
" Now resting, bless'd and hallow'd the Seventh Day,
" As resting on that day from all his work:
" But not in silence holy kept: the harp
" Had work, and rested not; the solemn pipe,
" And dulcimer, all organs of sweet stop,
" All sounds on fret by string, or golden wire,
" Temper'd soft tunings, intermix'd with voice
" Choral, or unison: of incense clouds,
" Fuming from golden censers, hid the mount.
" Creation and the six days' acts they sung:
" ' Great are thy works, Jehovah! infinite
" ' Thy power! What thought can measure thee, or tongue
" ' Relate thee? Greater now in thy return
" ' Than from the giant angels: thee that day
" ' Thy thunders magnified; but to create
" ' Is greater, than created to destroy.
" ' Who can impair thee, Mighty King! or bound
" ' Thy empire? easily the proud attempt
" ' Of spirits apostate, and their counsels vain,
" ' Thou hast repell'd; while impiously they thought
" ' Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
" ' The number of thy worshippers. Who seeks
" ' To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
" ' To manifest the more thy might: his evil
" ' Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
" ' Witness this new-made world, another heaven!
" ' From heaven-gate not far, founded in view
" ' On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea;
" ' Of amplitude almost immense, with stars
" ' Numerous, and every star perhaps a world
" ' Of destin'd habitation; but thou know'st
" ' Their seasons: among these, the seat of men,
" ' Earth, with her nether ocean circumfus'd,
" ' Their pleasant dwelling-place. Thrice happy men,
" ' And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc'd!

" ' Created in his image, there to dwell
" ' And worship him; and in reward to rule
" ' Over his works, on earth, in sea, or air,
" ' And multiply a race of worshippers
" ' Holy and just: thrice happy, if they know
" ' Their happiness, and persevere upright!'
" So sung they, and the empyréan rung
" With hallelujahs: thus was the Sabbath kept.
" And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd
" How first this world and face of things began,
" And what before thy memory was done
" From the beginning; that posterity,
" Inform'd by thee, might know. If else thou seek'st
" Aught not surpassing human measure, say."

BOOK VIII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Adam inquires concerning celestial motions: is doubtfully answered, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledge: Adam assents: and, still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remembered since his own creation: his placing in Paradise: his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society: his first meeting and nuptials with Eve: his discourse with the angel thereupon: who, after admonitions repeated, departs.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VIII.

THE angel ended; and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he a while
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear;
Then, as new-wak'd, thus gratefully replied:
" What thanks sufficient, or what recompense
" Equal, have I to render thee, divine
" Historian! who thus largely hast allay'd
" The thirst I had of knowledge, and vouchsaf'd
" This friendly condescension to relate
" Things, else by me unsearchable; now heard
" With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
" With glory attributed to the high
" Creator? Something yet of doubt remains,
" Which only thy solution can resolve.
" When I behold this goodly frame, this world,
" Of heaven and earth consisting, and compute
" Their magnitudes; this earth a spot, a grain,
" An atom, with the firmament compar'd
" And all her number'd stars, that seem to roll
" Spaces incomprehensible, (for such
" Their distance argues, and their swift return
" Diurnal,) merely to officiate light

" Round this opacous earth, this punctual spot,
" One day and night; in all their vast survey
" Useless besides: reas'ning I oft admire
" How nature, wise and frugal, could commit
" Such disproportions; with superfluous hand
" So many nobler bodies to create,
" Greater so manifold, to this one use,
" For aught appears; and on their orbs impose
" Such restless revolution, day by day
" Repeated; while the sedentary earth,
" That better might with far less compass move,
" Serv'd by more noble than herself, attains
" Her end without least motion, and receives,
" As tribute,—such a sumless journey brought
" Of incorporeal speed,—her warmth and light;
" Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails."
So spake our sire, and by his count'nance seem'd
Ent'ring on studious thoughts abstruse: which Eve
Perceiving, where she sat retir'd in sight,
With lowliness majestic from her seat,
And grace, that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers,
To visit how they prosper'd, bud, and bloom,
Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And, touch'd by her fair tendance, gladlier grew.
Yet went she not as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her ear
Of what was high: such pleasure she reserv'd,
Adam relating, she sole auditress;
Her husband the relater she preferr'd
Before the angel; and of him to ask
Chose rather: he, she knew, would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal caresses; from his lip
Not words alone pleas'd her. - - - O! when meet now
Such pairs, in love and mutual honour join'd? - - -
With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
Not unattended; for on her, as queen,

A pomp of winning graces waited still,
And from about her shot darts of desire
Into all eyes to wish her still in sight.
And Raphael now, to Adam's doubt propos'd,
Benevolent, and facile, thus replied:
" To ask or search, I blame thee not; for heaven
" Is as the book of God before thee set,
" Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
" His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years:
" This to attain, whether heaven move, or earth,
" Imports not, if thou reckon right: the rest,
" From man, or angel, the great Architect
" Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
" His secrets to be scann'd by them who ought
" Rather admire; or, if they list to try
" Conjecture, he his fabric of the heavens
" Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
" His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
" Hereafter; when they come to model heaven
" And calculate the stars, how they will wield
" The mighty frame—how build, unbuild, contrive,
" To save appearances—how gird the sphere
" With centric, and eccentric, scribbled o'er,
" Cycle, and epicycle, orb in orb.
" Already by thy reas'ning this I guess,
" Who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest
" That bodies bright and greater should not serve
" The less not bright, nor heaven such journeys run,
" Earth sitting still, when she alone receives
" The benefit. Consider first, that great,
" Or bright, infers not excellence: the earth
" Though, in comparison of heaven, so small,
" Nor glist'ring, may of solid good contain
" More plenty than the sun that barren shines;
" Whose virtue, on itself, works no effect,
" But in the fruitful earth: there first receiv'd,
" His beams, unactive else, their vigour find.
" Yet not to earth are those bright luminaries

" Officious; but to thee, earth's habitant.
" And for the heaven's wide circuit, let it speak
" The Maker's high magnificence, who built
" So spacious, and his line stretch'd out so far,
" That man may know he dwells not in his own:
" An edifice too large for him to fill,
" Lodg'd in a small partition; and the rest
" Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.
" The swiftness of those circles attribute,
" Though numberless, to his omnipotence,
" That to corporeal substances could add
" Speed almost spiritual: me thou think'st not slow,
" Who since the morning-hour set out from heaven,
" Where God resides, and ere mid-day arriv'd
" In Eden; distance inexpressible
" By numbers that have name! But this I urge,
" Admitting motion in the heavens, to show
" Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd:
" Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
" To thee who hast thy dwelling here on earth.
" God, to remove his ways from human sense,
" Plac'd heaven from earth so far, that earthly sight,
" If it presume, might err in things too high,
" And no advantage gain. What if the sun
" Be centre to the world; and other stars,
" By his attractive virtue and their own
" Incited, dance about him various rounds?
" Their wand'ring course now high, now low, then hid,
" Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,
" In six thou seest; and what if sev'nth to these
" The planet earth, so steadfast though she seem,
" Insensibly three diff'rent motions move?
" Which else to sev'ral spheres thou must ascribe,
" Mov'd contrary with thwart obliquities;
" Or save the sun his labour, and that swift
" Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb suppos'd,
" Invisible else above all stars, the wheel
" Of day and night: which needs not thy belief,

" If earth, industrious of herself, fetch day
" Travelling east; and, with her part averse
" From the sun's beam, meet night, her other part
" Still luminous by his ray. What if that light,
" Sent from her through the wide transpicuous air,
" To the terrestrial moon be as a star,
" Enlight'ning her by day, as she by night
" This earth, reciprocal if land be there,
" Fields and inhabitants? Her spots thou seest
" As clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain produce
" Fruits in her soften'd soil, for some to eat
" Allotted there: and other suns perhaps,
" With their attendant moons, thou wilt descry,
" Communicating male and female light;
" Which two great sexes animate the world,
" Stor'd in each orb perhaps with some that live:
" For such vast room in nature unpossess'd
" By living soul, desert, and desolate,
" Only to shine, yet scarce to cóntribute
" Each orb a glimpse of light, convey'd so far
" Down to this habitable, which returns
" Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.
" But whether thus these things, or whether not—
" Whether the sun, predominant in heaven,
" Rise on the earth, or earth rise on the sun—
" He from the East his flaming road begin,
" Or she from West her silent course advance
" With inoffensive pace, that spinning sleeps
" On her soft axle, while she paces even,
" And bears thee soft with the smooth air along;
" Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid:
" Leave them to God above; him serve and fear;
" Of other creatures, as him pleases best,
" Wherever plac'd, let him dispose; joy thou
" In what he gives to thee—this Paradise,
" And thy fair Eve: heaven is for thee too high,
" To know what passes there; be lowly wise;
" Think only what concerns thee, and thy being;

"Dream not of other worlds; what creatures there
"Live, in what state, condition, or degree;
"Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd
"Not of earth only, but of highest heaven."
To whom thus Adam, clear'd of doubt, replied:
"How fully hast thou satisfied me, pure
"Intelligence of heaven, angel serene!
"And, freed from intricacies, taught to live
"The easiest way; nor with perplexing thoughts
"To interrupt the sweet of life, from which
"God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares,
"And not molest us; unless we ourselves
"Seek them with wand'ring thoughts, and notions vain.
"But apt the mind, or fancy, is to rove
"Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end;
"Till, warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn,
"That not to know at large of things remote
"From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
"That which before us lies in daily life,
"Is the prime wisdom: what is more, is fume,
"Or emptiness, or fond impertinence;
"And renders us, in things that most concern,
"Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.
"Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
"A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
"Useful; whence, haply, mention may arise
"Of something not unseasonable to ask,
"By suff'rance, and thy wonted favour, deign'd.
"Thee I have heard relating what was done
"Ere my remembrance: now, hear me relate
"My story, which perhaps thou hast not heard;
"And day is not yet spent: till then thou seest
"How subtly to detain thee I devise;
"Inviting thee to hear while I relate;
"Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply:
"For, while I sit with thee, I seem in heaven;
"And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
"Than fruits of palm-tree, pleasantest to thirst

" And hunger both, from labour,—at the hour
" Of sweet repast: they satiate, and soon fill,
" Though pleasant; but thy words, with grace divine
" Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety."
To whom thus Raphael answer'd heav'nly meek:
" Nor are thy lips ungraceful, sire of men!
" Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee
" Abundantly his gifts hath also poured;
" Inward and outward both, his image fair:
" Speaking, or mute, all comeliness and grace
" Attends thee, and each word, each motion, forms.
" Nor less think we in heaven of thee on earth
" Than of our fellow-servant, and inquire
" Gladly into the ways of God with man:
" For God, we see, hath honour'd thee, and set
" On man his equal love. Say therefore on;
" For I that day was absent, as befel,
" Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
" Far on excursion toward the gates of hell;
" Squar'd in full legion (such command we had)
" To see that none thence issued forth a spy,
" Or enemy, while God was in his work;
" Lest he, incensed at such eruption bold,
" Destruction with creation might have mix'd.
" Not that they durst without his leave attempt:
" But us he sends upon his high behests
" For state, as Sov'reign King; and to inure
" Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut,
" The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong;
" But, long ere our approaching, heard within
" Noise, other than the sound of dance or song;
" Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage!
" Glad we return'd up to the coasts of light
" Ere sabbath ev'ning: so we had in charge.
" But thy relation now; for I attend,
" Pleas'd with thy words, no less than thou with mine."
So spake the godlike Power; and thus our sire:
" For man to tell how human life began

" Is hard; for who himself beginning knew?
" Desire with thee still longer to converse
" Induc'd me.
" As new wak'd from soundest sleep,
" Soft on the flowery herb I found me laid
" In balmy sweat; which with his beams the sun
" Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed.
" Straight toward heaven my wond'ring eyes I turn'd,
" And gaz'd awhile the ample sky; till, rais'd
" By quick instinctive motion, up I sprung,
" As thitherward endeav'ring, and upright
" Stood on my feet. About me round I saw
" Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
" And liquid lapse of murm'ring streams; by these,
" Creatures that liv'd and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew;
" Birds on the branches warbling: all things smil'd
" With fragrance, and with joy my heart o'erflow'd.
" Myself I then perus'd, and limb by limb
" Survey'd; and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
" With supple joints, as lively vigour led:
" But who I was, or where, or from what cause,
" Knew not: to speak I tried, and forthwith spake;
" My tongue obey'd, and readily could name
" Whate'er I saw. 'Thou sun,' said I, 'fair light!
" 'And thou enlighten'd earth, so fresh and gay!
" 'Ye hills, and dales, ye rivers, woods, and plains,
" 'And ye that live and move, fair creatures! tell,
" 'Tell, if ye saw, how I came thus, how here?
" 'Not of myself; by some great Maker then,
" 'In goodness and in power pre-eminent:
" 'Tell me, how I may know him, how adore,
" 'From whom I have that thus I move and live,
" 'And feel that I am happier than I know.'
" While thus I call'd, and stray'd I knew not whither
" From where I first drew air, and first beheld
" This happy light; when, answer none return'd,
" On a green shady bank, profuse of flowers,
" Pensive I sat me down: there gentle sleep

" First found me, and with soft oppression seized
" My drowsed sense, untroubled, though I thought
" I then was passing to my former state,
" Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve:
" When suddenly stood at my head a dream,
" Whose inward apparition gently mov'd
" My fancy to believe I yet had being,
" And liv'd. One came, methought, of shape divine,
" And said, ' Thy mansion wants thee, Adam; rise,
" ' First man, of men innumerable ordain'd
" ' First father! call'd by thee, I come thy guide
" ' To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepar'd.'
" So saying, by the hand he took me, rais'd,
" And, over fields and waters, as in air,
" Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
" A woody mountain, whose high top was plain—
" A circuit wide, enclos'd with goodliest trees,
" Planted with walks and bowers; that what I saw
" Of earth before, scarce pleasant seem'd. Each tree,
" Loaden with fairest fruit, that hung to th' eye
" Tempting, stirred in me sudden appetite
" To pluck and eat; whereat I wak'd, and found
" Before mine eyes all real, as the dream
" Had lively shadow'd. Here had new begun
" My wand'ring, had not he, who was my guide
" Up hither, from among the trees appear'd—
" Presence Divine! Rejoicing, but with awe,
" In adoration at his feet I fell
" Submiss: he rear'd me, and, 'Whom thou sought'st I am,'
" Said mildly; ' Author of all this thou seest
" ' Above, or round about thee, or beneath.
" ' This Paradise I give thee; count it thine
" ' To till and keep, and of the fruit to eat:
" ' Of every tree that in the garden grows
" ' Eat freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth:
" ' But of the tree whose operation brings
" ' Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set
" ' The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith,

" ' Amid the garden by the tree of life,
" ' (Remember what I warn thee!) shun to taste,
" ' And shun the bitter consequence: for know,
" ' The day thou eat'st thereof,—my sole command
" ' Transgress'd,—inevitably thou shalt die;
" ' From that day mortal; and this happy state
" ' Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world
" ' Of woe and sorrow.' Sternly he pronounc'd
" The rigid interdiction, which resounds
" Yet dreadful in mine ear, though in my choice
" Not to incur: but soon his clear aspect
" Return'd, and gracious purpose thus renew'd:
" ' Not only these fair bounds, but all the earth
" ' To thee and to thy race I give; as lords
" ' Possess it, and all things that therein live,
" ' Or live in sea, or air—beast, fish, and fowl.
" ' In sign whereof, each bird and beast behold
" ' After their kinds; I bring them to receive
" ' From thee their names, and pay thee feälty
" ' With low subjection: understand the same
" ' Of fish within their wat'ry residence;
" ' Not hither summon'd, since they cannot change
" ' Their element, to draw the thinner air.'
" As thus he spake, each bird, and beast, behold
" Approaching, two and two—these cow'ring low
" With blandishment—each bird stoop'd on his wing.
" I nam'd them as they pass'd, and understood
" Their nature; with such knowledge God endu'd
" My sudden apprehension. But in these
" I found not what methought I wanted still;
" And to the heavenly Vision thus presum'd:
" ' O, by what name,—for thou above all these,
" ' Above mankind, or aught than mankind higher,
" ' Surpassest far my naming!—how may I
" ' Adore thee, Author of this universe,
" ' And all this good to man? for whose well-being
" ' So amply, and with hands so liberal,
" ' Thou hast provided all things. But with me

" ' I see not who partakes. In solitude
" ' What happiness? who can enjoy alone?
" ' Or, all enjoying, what contentment find?'
" Thus I presumptuous; and the Vision bright,
" As with a smile more brighten'd, thus replied:
" ' What call'st thou solitude? Is not the earth
" ' With various living creatures, and the air,
" ' Replenish'd, and all these at thy command
" ' To come and play before thee? Know'st thou not
" ' Their language and their ways? They also know,
" ' And reason not contemptibly: with these
" ' Find pastime, and bear rule; thy realm is large.'
" So spake the Universal Lord, and seem'd
" So ord'ring: I, with leave of speech implor'd,
" And humble deprecation, thus replied:
" ' Let not my words offend thee, Heavenly Power!
" ' My Maker, be propitious while I speak!
" ' Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
" ' And these, inferior far, beneath me set?
" ' Among unequals what society
" ' Can sort, what harmony, or true delight?
" ' Which must be mutual, in proportion due
" ' Giv'n and receiv'd; but, in disparity,
" ' The one intense, the other still remiss,
" ' Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
" ' Tedious alike. Of fellowship I speak,
" ' Such as I seek, fit to participate
" ' All rational delight; wherein the brute
" ' Cannot be human consort: they rejoice
" ' Each with their kind, lion with lioness;
" ' So fitly them in pairs thou hast combin'd;
" ' Much less can bird with beast, or fish with fowl
" ' So well converse; nor with the ox the ape:
" ' Worse then can man with beast, and least of all.'
" Whereto the Almighty answer'd, not displeas'd:
" ' A nice and subtile happiness, I see,
" ' Thou to thyself proposest, in the choice
" ' Of thy associates, Adam! and wilt taste

" ' No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitary.
" ' What think'st thou then of me, and this my state?
" ' Seem I to thee sufficiently possess'd
" ' Of happiness, or not, who am alone
" ' From all eternity? for none I know
" ' Second to me, or like; equal much less.
" ' How have I then with whom to hold converse,
" ' Save with the creatures which I made, and those
" ' To me inferior, infinite descents
" ' Beneath what other creatures are to thee?'
" He ceas'd; I lowly answer'd: ' To attain
" ' The height and depth of thy eternal ways
" ' All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things!
" ' Thou in thyself art perfect, and in thee
" ' Is no deficience found: not so is man,
" ' But in degree—the cause of his desire
" ' By conversation with his like to help,
" ' Or solace his defects. No need that thou
" ' Shouldst propagate, already infinite;
" ' And through all numbers absolute, though one:
" ' But man by number is to manifest
" ' His single imperfection, and beget
" ' Like of his like, his image multiplied;
" ' In unity defective; which requires
" ' Collat'ral love, and dearest amity.
" ' Thou, in thy secrecy although alone,
" ' Best with thyself accompanied, seek'st not
" ' Social communication; yet, so pleas'd,
" ' Canst raise thy creature to what height thou wilt
" ' Of union, or communion, deified:
" ' I, by conversing, cannot these erect
" ' From prone; nor in their ways complacence find.'
" Thus I embolden'd spake, and freedom us'd
" Permissive, and acceptance found; which gain'd
" This answer from the gracious Voice Divine:
" ' Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd;
" ' And find thee knowing, not of beasts alone,
" ' (Which thou hast rightly nam'd,) but of thyself;

" ' Expressing well the spirit within thee free,
" ' My image, not imparted to the brute:
" ' Whose fellowship therefore, unmeet for thee,
" ' Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike.
" ' And be so minded still: I, ere thou spak'st,
" ' Knew it not good for man to be alone:
" ' And no such company as then thou saw'st
" ' Intended thee; for trial only brought,
" ' To see how thou couldst judge of fit and meet.
" ' What next I bring shall please thee, be assur'd;
" ' Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self,
" ' Thy wish exactly to thy heart's desire.'
" He ended, or I heard no more; for now
" My earthly by his heavenly overpowered,
" Which it had long stood under, strain'd to the height
" In that celestial colloquy sublime,
" (As with an object that excels the sense,
" Dazzled and spent,) sunk down, and sought repair
" Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
" By nature as in aid, and clos'd mine eyes.
" Mine eyes he clos'd, but open left the cell
" Of fancy, my internal sight; by which,
" Abstract as in a trance, methought I saw,
" Though sleeping, where I lay; and saw the shape
" Still glorious, before whom awake I stood;
" Who stooping open'd my left side, and took
" From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
" And life-blood streaming fresh: wide was the wound,
" But suddenly with flesh filled up and heal'd:
" The rib he form'd and fashion'd with his hands:
" Under his forming hands a creature grew,
" Man-like, but different sex; so lovely fair,
" That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
" Mean, or in her summ'd up—in her contain'd
" And in her looks; which from that time infus'd
" Sweetness into my heart unfelt before,
" And into all things from her air inspir'd
" The spirit of love, and amorous delight.

" She disappear'd, and left me dark: I wak'd—
" To find her, or for ever to deplore
" Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure.
" When out of hope, behold her, not far off,
" Such as I saw her in my dream, adorn'd
" With all that earth or heaven could bestow
" To make her amiable! On she came,
" Led by her heavenly Maker, though unseen,
" And guided by his voice; nor uninform'd
" Of nuptial sanctity, and marriage rites:
" Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye.
" In every gesture dignity and love!
" I, overjoy'd, could not forbear aloud:
" ' This turn hath made amends: Thou hast fulfill'd
" ' Thy words, Creator bounteous and benign,
" ' Giver of all things fair! but fairest this
" ' Of all thy gifts; nor enviest. I now see
" ' Bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh, myself
" ' Before me: Woman is her name; of man
" ' Extracted: for this cause he shall forego
" ' Father and mother, and to his wife adhere;
" ' And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.'
" She heard me thus; and though divinely brought,
" Yet innocence, and virgin modesty,
" Her virtue, and the conscience of her worth,
" That would be woo'd and not unsought be won,
" Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,
" (The more desirable) or, to say all,
" Nature herself, though pure of sinful thought,
" Wrought in her so, that, seeing me, she turn'd:
" I follow'd her; she what was honour knew,
" And, with obsequious majesty, approv'd
" My pleaded reason. To the nuptial bower
" I led her blushing like the morn: all heaven,
" And happy constellations, on that hour
" Shed their selectest influence; the earth
" Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill;
" Joyous the birds; fresh gales and gentle airs

" Whisper'd it to the woods, and from their wings
" Flung rose, flung odours from the spicy shrub,
" Disporting; till the amorous bird of night
" Sung spousal, and bid haste the ev'ning-star
" On his hill top to light the bridal lamp:
" Thus have I told thee all my state, and brought
" My story to the sum of earthly bliss,
" Which I enjoy; and must confess to find
" In all things else delight indeed, but such
" As, us'd or not, works in the mind no change,
" Nor vehement desire; these delicacies
" I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits, and flowers,
" Walks, and the melody of birds: but here,
" Far otherwise! transported I behold,
" Transported touch—here passion first I felt,
" Commotion strange! in all enjoyments else
" Superior and unmov'd—here only weak
" Against the charm of beauty's powerful glance.
" Or nature fail'd in me, and left some part
" Not proof enough such object to sustain;
" Or, from my side subducting, took perhaps
" More than enough: at least on her bestow'd
" Too much of ornament; in outward show
" Elaborate, of inward, less exact.
" For well I understand, in the prime end
" Of nature, her the inferior in the mind
" And inward faculties, which most excel;
" In outward also her resembling less
" His image who made both, and less expressing
" The character of that dominion giv'n
" O'er other creatures: yet when I approach
" Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
" And in herself complete; so well to know
" Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
" Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:
" All higher knowledge in her presence falls
" Degraded; wisdom in discourse with her
" Loses discount'nanc'd, and like folly shows:

" Authority and reason on her wait,
" As one intended first, not after made
" Occasionally; and, to consummate all,
" Greatness of mind, and nobleness, their seat
" Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
" About her, as a guard angelic plac'd."
To whom the angel with contracted brow:
" Accuse not nature, she hath done her part:
" Do thou but thine; and be not diffident
" Of wisdom; she deserts thee not if thou
" Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh,
" By attributing overmuch to things
" Less excellent, as thou thyself perceiv'st.
" For, what admir'st thou? what transports thee so?
" An outside! fair, no doubt, and worthy well
" Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love;
" Not thy subjection: weigh with her thyself;
" Then value: oft-times nothing profits more
" Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right,
" Well manag'd: of that skill the more thou know'st,
" The more she will acknowledge thee her head,
" And to realities yield all her shows:
" Made so adorn for thy delight the more,
" So awful, that with honour thou may'st love
" Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wise.
" But if the sense of touch, whereby mankind
" Is propagated, seem such dear delight
" Beyond all other, think the same vouchsaf'd
" To cattle, and each beast; which would not be
" To them made common, and divulg'd, if aught
" Therein enjoy'd were worthy to subdue
" The soul of man, or passion in him move.
" What higher in her society thou find'st
" Attractive, human, rational, love still;
" In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
" Wherein true love consists not: love refines
" The thoughts, and heart enlarges; hath his seat
" In reason, and is judicious; is the scale

" By which to heavenly love thou may'st ascend,
" Not sunk in carnal pleasure; for which cause,
" Among the beasts no mate for thee was found."
To whom thus, half-abash'd, Adam replied:
" Neither her outside form'd so fair, nor aught
" In procreation common to all kinds,
" (Though higher of the genial bed by far,
" And with mysterious reverence I deem,)
" So much delights me, as those graceful acts,
" Those thousand decencies that daily flow
" From all her words, and actions mix'd with love
" And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
" Union of mind, or in us both one soul:
" Harmony to behold in wedded pair
" More grateful than harmonious sound to th' ear;
" Yet these subject not: I to thee disclose
" What inward thence I feel, not therefore foil'd,
" Who meet with various objects, from the sense
" Variously representing; yet, still free,
" Approve the best, and follow what I approve.
" To love, thou blam'st me not; for love, thou say'st,
" Leads up to heaven; is both the way and guide:
" Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask:
" Love not the heavenly spirits? and how their love
" Express they? by looks only? or do they mix
" Irradiance? virtual, or immediate touch?"
To whom the angel, with a smile that glow'd
Celestial rosy red, love's proper hue,
Answer'd: " Let it suffice thee that thou know'st
" Us happy; and, without love, no happiness.
" Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st,
" (And pure thou wert created,) we enjoy
" In eminence; and obstacle find none
" Of membrane, joint or limb, exclusive bars:
" Easier than air with air, if spirits embrace,
" Total they mix, union of pure with pure
" Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance need,
" As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.

" But I can now no more: the parting sun,
" Beyond the earth's green cape and verdant isles,
" Hesperian sets, my signal to depart.
" Be strong, live happy, and love! but, first of all,
" Him, whom to love is to obey; and keep
" His great command: take heed lest passion sway
" Thy judgment to do aught which else free will
" Would not admit: thine, and of all thy sons,
" The weal, or woe, in thee is plac'd; beware!
" I in thy persevering shall rejoice,
" And all the blest. Stand fast! to stand, or fall,
" Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.
" Perfect within, no outward aid require;
" And all temptation to transgress repel."
So saying, he arose; whom Adam thus
Follow'd with benediction: " Since to part,
" Go, heavenly guest, ethereal messenger,
" Sent from whose sov'reign goodness I adore!
" Gentle to me and affable hath been
" Thy condescension, and shall be honour'd ever
" With grateful memory: thou to mankind
" Be good and friendly still, and oft return!"
So parted they; the angel up to heaven
From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower.

BOOK IX.

THE ARGUMENT.

SATAN having encompassed the earth, with meditated guile returns, as a mist, by night into Paradise; enters into the serpent sleeping. Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart: Adam consents not, alleging the danger, lest that enemy, of whom they were forewarned, should attempt her found alone: Eve, loth to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make trial of her strength; Adam at last yields: the serpent finds her alone: his subtle approach, first gazing, then speaking; with much flattery extolling Eve above all other creatures. Eve, wondering to hear the serpent speak, asks how he attained to human speech, and such understanding, not till now: the serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain tree in the garden he had attained both to speech and reason, till then void of both: Eve requires him to bring her to that tree, and finds it to be the tree of knowledge forbidden: the serpent, now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments, induces her at length to eat; she, pleased with the taste, deliberates awhile whether to impart thereof to Adam or not; at last brings him of the fruit; relates what persuaded her to eat thereof: Adam, at first amazed, but perceiving her lost, resolves, through vehemence of love, to perish with her; and extenuating the trespass, eats also of the fruit: the effects thereof in them both; they seek to cover their nakedness; then fall to variance and accusation of one another.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX.

No more of talk where God, or angel guest,
With man, as with his friend, familiar us'd
To sit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast; permitting him the while
Venial discourse unblam'd. I now must change
Those notes to tragic; foul distrust, and breach
Disloyal! On the part of man, revolt,
And disobedience: on the part of heaven,
Now alienated, distance, and distaste,
Anger, and just rebuke, and judgment given,
That brought into this world—a world of woe—
Sin, and her shadow Death, and Misery
Death's harbinger. Sad task! yet argument
Not less, but more heroic than the wrath
Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
Of Turnus, for Lavinia disespous'd;
Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
Perplex'd the Greek, and Cytherea's son:
If answerable style I can obtain
Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,

And dictates to me slumb'ring; or inspires
Easy my unpremeditated verse;
Since first this subject for heroic song
Pleas'd me, long choosing, and beginning late;
Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deem'd; chief mast'ry to dissect
With long and tedious havoc fabled knights,
In battles feign'd; (the better fortitude
Of patience, and heroic martyrdom,
Unsung;) or, to describe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, emblazon'd shields,
Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
At joust and tournament; then marshall'd feast,
Serv'd up in hall with sewers and seneshals;
The skill of artifice, or office mean!
Not that which justly gives heroic name
To person, or to poem. Me, of these
Nor skill'd nor studious, higher argument
Remains; sufficient of itself to raise
That name, unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Depress'd; and much they may if all be mine,
Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear.

The sun was sunk, and, after him, the star
Of Hesperus, whose office is to bring
Twilight upon the earth, short arbiter
'Twixt day and night: and now, from end to end,
Night's hemisphere had veil'd th' horizon round;
When Satan, who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improv'd
In meditated fraud and malice,—bent
On man's destruction, maugre what might hap
Of heavier on himself,—fearless return'd.
By night he fled, and at midnight return'd
From compassing the earth; cautious of day,

Since Uriel, regent of the sun, descried
His entrance, and forewarn'd the Cherubim
That kept their watch; thence, full of anguish, driv'n,
The space of seven continu'd nights he rode
With darkness; thrice the equinoctial line
He circled; four times cross'd the car of night
From pole to pole, travérsing each colure;
On the eighth return'd; and, on the coast averse
From entrance or Cherubic watch, by stealth
Found unsuspected way. There was a place,
Now not, though sin, not time, first wrought the change,
Where Tigris, at the foot of Paradise,
Into a gulf shot under ground, till part
Rose up a fountain by the tree of life:
In with the river sunk, and with it rose,
Satan, involv'd in rising mist; then sought
Where to lie hid: sea he had search'd, and land,
From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
Mœotis, up beyond the river Ob;
Downward as far antarctic; and in length,
West from Orontes to the ocean barr'd
At Darien; thence to the land where flows
Ganges and Indus. Thus the orb he roam'd
With narrow search; and with inspection deep
Consider'd every creature, which of all
Most opportune might serve his wiles; and found
The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.
Him after long debate, irresolute
Of thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence chose
Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud, in whom
To enter, and his dark suggestions hide
From sharpest sight: for, in the wily snake
Whatever sleights, none would suspicious mark,
As from his wit and native subtlety
Proceeding, which in other beasts observ'd
Doubt might beget of diabolic power
Active within, beyond the sense of brute.

Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward grief
His bursting passion into plaints thus pour'd:
" O earth, how like to heaven! if not preferr'd
" More justly—seat worthier of gods, as built
" With second thoughts, reforming what was old!
" For what God, after better, worse would build?
" Terrestrial heaven, danc'd round by other heavens
" That shine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
" Light above light, for thee alone as seems—
" In thee concentring all their precious beams
" Of sacred influence! As God in heaven
" Is centre, yet extends to all; so thou,
" Centring, receiv'st from all these orbs: in thee,
" Not in themselves, all their known virtue appears
" Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth
" Of creatures animate with gradual life
" Of growth, sense, reason—all summ'd up in man.
" With what delight could I have walk'd thee round,
" If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
" Of hill, and valley, rivers, woods, and plains,
" Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crown'd,
" Rocks, dens, and caves! But I in none of these
" Find place or refuge; and the more I see
" Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
" Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
" Of contraries: all good to me becomes
" Bane; and in heaven much worse would be my state.
" But neither here seek I, no, nor in heaven,
" To dwell, unless by mastering heaven's Supreme;
" Nor hope to be myself less miserable
" By what I seek, but others to make such
" As I, though thereby worse to me redound;
" For only in destroying I find ease
" To my relentless thoughts; and, him destroy'd,
" Or won to what may work his utter loss,
" For whom all this was made, all this will soon
" Follow, as to him link'd in weal or woe—
" In woe then, that destruction wide may range!

" To me shall be the glory sole among
" The infernal Powers, in one day to have marr'd
" What he, Almighty styl'd, six nights and days
" Continued making; and who knows how long
" Before had been contriving? though perhaps
" Not longer than since I, in one night, freed
" From servitude inglorious well nigh half
" The angelic name, and thinner left the throng
" Of his adorers. He, to be aveng'd,
" And to repair his numbers thus impair'd,
" (Whether such virtue spent of old now fail'd
" More angels to create, if they at least
" Are his created, or to spite us more,)
" Determin'd to advance into our room
" A creature form'd of earth; and him endow,
" Exalted from so base original,
" With heavenly spoils—our spoils! What he decreed,
" He effected: man he made, and for him built
" Magnificent this world, and earth his seat;
" Him lord pronounc'd; and, O indignity!
" Subjected to his service angel-wings,
" And flaming ministers, to watch and tend
" Their earthly charge. Of these the vigilance
" I dread; and, to elude, thus wrapt in mist
" Of midnight vapour glide obscure, and pry
" In every bush and brake, where hap may find
" The serpent sleeping; in whose mazy folds
" To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
" O foul descent! that I, who erst contended
" With gods to sit the highest, am now constrain'd
" Into a beast; and, mix'd with bestial slime,
" This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
" That to the height of deity aspir'd:
" But what will not ambition and revenge
" Descend to? Who aspires, must down as low
" As high he soar'd; obnoxious, first or last,
" To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,
" Bitter ere long, back on itself recoils:

" Let it; I reck not, so it light well aim'd
" (Since, higher, I fall short,) on him who next
" Provokes my envy—this new favourite
" Of heaven—this man of clay—son of despite,
" Whom, us the more to spite, his Maker rais'd
" From dust: spite then with spite is best repaid."
So saying, through each thicket, dank or dry,
Like a black mist low-creeping, he held on
His midnight search where soonest he might find
The serpent. Him fast sleeping soon he found
In labyrinth of many a round self roll'd;
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles;
Not yet in horrid shade, or dismal den;
Nor nocent yet; but, on the grassy herb,
Fearless, unfear'd, he slept. In at his mouth
The devil enter'd; and his brutal sense,
In heart or head, possessing, soon inspir'd
With act intelligential; but his sleep
Disturb'd not, waiting close the approach of morn.

Now, when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers, that breath'd
Their morning incense, when all things that breathe,
From the earth's great altar send up silent praise
To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
And join'd their vocal worship to the quire
Of creatures wanting voice; that done, partake
The season, prime for sweetest scents and airs:
Then commune, how that day they best may ply
Their growing work; for much their work outgrew
The hands' dispatch of two gard'ning so wide:
And Eve first to her husband thus began:
" Adam, well may we labour still to dress
" This garden, still to tend plant, herb, and flower——
" Our pleasant task enjoin'd; but, till more hands
" Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
" Luxurious by restraint: what we by day

" Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
" One night or two with wanton growth derides,
" Tending to wild. Thou therefore now advise,
" Or hear what to my mind first thoughts present:
" Let us divide our labours; thou, where choice
" Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind
" The woodbine round this arbour, or direct
" The clasping ivy where to climb; while I,
" In yonder spring of roses intermix'd
" With myrtle, find what to redress till noon:
" For, while so near each other thus all day
" Our task we choose, what wonder if so near
" Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
" Casual discourse draw on; which intermits
" Our day's work, brought to little, though begun
" Early, and the hour of supper comes unearn'd?"
To whom mild answer Adam thus return'd:
" Sole Eve, associate sole, to me beyond
" Compare above all living creatures dear!
" Well hast thou motion'd, well thy thoughts employ'd,
" How we might best fulfil the work which here
" God hath assign'd us; nor of me shalt pass
" Unprais'd; for nothing lovelier can be found
" In woman, than to study household good,
" And good works in her husband to promote.
" Yet not so strictly hath our Lord impos'd
" Labour as to debar us, when we need
" Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
" Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
" Of looks and smiles; for smiles from reason flow,
" To brute denied, and are of love the food—
" Love, not the lowest end of human life.
" For not to irksome toil, but to delight,
" He made us, and delight to reason join'd.
" These paths and bowers doubt not but our joint hands
" Will keep from wilderness with ease, as wide
" As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
" Assist us. But if much converse perhaps

" Thee satiate, to short absence I could yield;
" For solitude sometimes is best society,
" And short retirement urges sweet return.
" But other doubt possesses me, lest harm
" Befal thee sever'd from me; for thou know'st
" What hath been warn'd us, what malicious foe
" Envying our happiness, and of his own
" Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame
" By sly assault, and somewhere nigh at hand
" Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
" His wish and best advantage—us asunder;
" Hopeless to circumvent us join'd, where each
" To other speedy aid might lend at need.
" Whether his first design be to withdraw
" Our feälty from God, or to disturb
" Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliss
" Enjoy'd by us excites his envy more;
" Or this, or worse: leave not the faithful side
" That gave thee being, still shades thee, and protects.
" The wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,
" Safest and seemliest by her husband stays,
" Who guards her, or with her the worst endures."
To whom the virgin majesty of Eve,
As one who loves and some unkindness meets,
With sweet austere composure thus replied:
" Offspring of heaven and earth, and all earth's lord!
" That such an enemy we have, who seeks
" Our ruin, both by thee inform'd I learn,
" And from the parting angel overheard,
" As in a shady nook I stood behind,
" Just then return'd at shut of evening flowers.
" But that thou shouldst my firmness therefore doubt
" To God, or thee, because we have a foe
" May tempt it, I expected not to hear.
" His violence thou fear'st not, being such
" As we, not capable of death or pain,
" Can either not receive, or can repel.
" His fraud is then thy fear; which plain infers

" Thy equal fear, that my firm faith and love
" Can by his fraud be shaken, or seduc'd:
" Thoughts, which, how found they harbour in thy
" breast,
" Adam, mis-thought of her to thee so dear?"
To whom with healing words Adam replied:
" Daughter of God and man, immortal Eve!
" For such thou art, from sin and blame entire:
" Not diffident of thee do I dissuade
" Thy absence from my sight; but to avoid
" The attempt itself, intended by our foe.
" For he who tempts, though in vain, at least asperses
" The tempted with dishonour foul, suppos'd
" Not incorruptible of faith, not proof
" Against temptation. Thou thyself with scorn
" And anger wouldst resent the offer'd wrong,
" Though ineffectual found: misdeem not, then,
" If such affront I labour to avert
" From thee alone, which on us both at once
" The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare;
" Or daring, first on me the assault shall light.
" Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn;
" (Subtle he needs must be, who could seduce
" Angels,) nor think superfluous others' aid.
" I, from the influence of thy looks, receive
" Access in every virtue; in thy sight
" More wise, more watchful; stronger, if need were
" Of outward strength: while shame, thou looking on,
" Shame to be overcome, or over-reach'd,
" Would utmost vigour raise, and rais'd unite.
" Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel
" When I am present, and thy trial choose
" With me, best witness of thy virtue tried?"
So spake domestic Adam, in his care
And matrimonial love; but Eve, who thought
Less attributed to her faith sincere,
Thus her reply with accent sweet renew'd:
" If this be our condition, thus to dwell

" In narrow circuit, straiten'd by a foe
" Subtle or violent, we not endued
" Single with like defence wherever met,
" How are we happy, still in fear of harm?
" But harm precedes not sin: only our foe,
" Tempting, affronts us with his foul esteem
" Of our integrity: his foul esteem
" Sticks no dishonour on our front, but turns
" Foul on himself; then wherefore shunn'd or fear'd
" By us? who rather double honour gain
" From his surmise prov'd false—find peace within—
" Favour from heaven, our witness, from the event.
" And what is faith, love, virtue, unassay'd
" Alone; without exterior help sustain'd?
" Let us not then suspect our happy state
" Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
" As not secure to single, or combin'd:
" Frail is our happiness, if this be so:
" And Eden were no Eden, thus expos'd."
To whom thus Adam fervently replied:
" O woman! best are all things as the will
" Of God ordain'd them: his creating hand
" Nothing imperfect or deficient left
" Of all that he created, much less man,
" Or aught that might his happy state secure—
" Secure from outward force; within himself
" The danger lies; yet lies within his power:
" Against his will he can receive no harm.
" But God left free the will; for what obeys
" Reason, is free; and reason he made right,
" But bid her well beware, and still erect;
" Lest, by some fair-appearing good surpris'd,
" She dictate false, and misinform the will,
" To do what God expressly hath forbid.
" Not then mistrust, but tender love, enjoins
" That I should mind thee oft; and mind thou me.
" Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve;
" Since reason not impossibly may meet

" Some specious object, by the foe suborn'd,
" And fall into deception unaware,
" Not keeping strictest watch as she was warn'd.
" Seek not temptation then; which to avoid
" Were better, and most likely if from me
" Thou sever not: trial will come unsought.
" Wouldst thou approve thy constancy, approve
" First thy obedience: the other who can know?
" Not seeing thee attempted—who attest?
" But, if thou think trial unsought may find
" Us both securer than thus warn'd thou seem'st,
" Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more—
" Go in thy native innocence; rely
" On what thou hast of virtue; summon all!
" For God towards thee hath done his part: do thine."
So spake the patriarch of mankind: but Eve
Persisted; yet submiss, though last, replied:
" With thy permission then, and thus forewarn'd,
" Chiefly by what thy own last reas'ning words
" Touch only, that our trial, when least sought,
" May find us both perhaps far less prepar'd,
" The willinger I go: nor much expect
" A foe so proud will first the weaker seek;
" So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse."
Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand
Soft she withdrew; and, like a wood-nymph light,
Oread, or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves; but Delia's self
In gait surpass'd, and goddess-like deport;
Though not, as she, with bow and quiver arm'd,
But with such gardening-tools as art, yet rude,
Guiltless of fire, had form'd, or angels brought.
To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorn'd,
Likest she seem'd—Pomona, when she fled
Vertumnus—or to Ceres in her prime,
Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.
Her long with ardent look his eye pursued
Delighted, but desiring more her stay.

Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated: she to him as oft engag'd
To be return'd by noon amid the bower,
And all things in best order to invite
Noontide repast, or afternoon's repose.
O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless Eve,
Of thy presum'd return! event perverse!
Thou never from that hour in Paradise
Found'st either sweet repast, or sound repose:
Such ambush, hid among sweet flowers and shades,
Waited with hellish rancour imminent
To intercept thy way, or send thee back
Despoil'd of innocence—of faith—of bliss!
For now, and since first break of dawn, the fiend,
Mere serpent in appearance, forth was come;
And on his quest, where likeliest he might find
The only two of mankind, but in them
The whole included race, his purpos'd prey.
In bower and field he sought where any tuft
Of grove or garden plot more pleasant lay,
Their tendance, or plantation for delight:
By fountain, or by shady rivulet,
He sought them both, but wish'd his hap might find
Eve separate; he wish'd, but not with hope
Of what so seldom chanc'd; when to his wish—
Beyond his hope, Eve separate he spies,
Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood,
Half spied, so thick the roses blushing round
About her glow'd, oft stooping to support
Each flower of tender stalk, whose head, though gay
Carnation, purple, azure, or speck'd with gold,
Hung drooping unsustain'd; them she upstays
Gently with myrtle band, mindless the while
Herself, though fairest unsupported flower,
From her best prop so far, and storm so nigh!
Nearer he drew, and many a walk travers'd
Of stateliest covert, cedar, pine, or palm;
Then voluble and bold; now hid, now seen

Among thick-woven arborets, and flowers
Imborder'd on each bank, the hand of Eve!
Spot more delicious than those gardens feign'd,
Or of reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd
Alcinous, host of old Laërtes' son;
Or that, not mystic, where the sapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse.
Much he the place admir'd, the person more.
As one who, long in populous city pent,
Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,
Forth issuing on a summer's morn, to breathe
Among the pleasant villages and farms
Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight—
The smell of grain, or tedded grass, or kine,
Or dairy—each rural sight—each rural sound;
If chance, with nymph-like step, fair virgin pass,
What pleasing seem'd, for her now pleases more;
She most, and in her look sums all delight:
Such pleasure took the serpent to behold
This flow'ry plat—the sweet recess of Eve,
Thus early, thus alone. Her heavenly form
Angelic, but more soft and feminine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air
Of gesture or least action, overaw'd
His malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought;
That space the evil one abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good; of enmity disarm'd—
Of guile—of hate—of envy—of revenge!
But the hot hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid heaven, soon ended his delight,
And tortures him now more, the more he sees
Of pleasure not for him ordain'd; then soon
Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites:
" Thoughts, whither have ye led me! with what sweet
" Compulsion thus transported, to forget

" What hither brought us! hate, not love; nor hope
" Of Paradise for hell—hope here to taste
" Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,
" Save what is in destroying: other joy
" To me is lost. Then, let me not pass
" Occasion which now smiles: behold alone
" The woman, opportune to all attempts!
" Her husband (for I view far round) not nigh,
" Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
" And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb
" Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould;
" Foe not informidable! exempt from wound,
" I not; so much hath hell debas'd, and pain
" Enfeebled me, to what I was in heaven.
" She fair, divinely fair, fit love for gods!
" Not terrible, though terror be in love
" And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate—
" Hate stronger under show of love well feign'd;
" The way which to her ruin now I tend."
So spake the enemy of mankind enclos'd
In serpent, inmate bad! and toward Eve
Address'd his way; not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since; but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that tower'd
Fold above fold, a surging maze; his head
Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burnish'd neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
Floated redundant: pleasing was his shape
And lovely: never since of serpent-kind
Lovelier; not those that in Illyria chang'd
Hermione, and Cadmus; or the god
In Epidaurus; nor to which transform'd
Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline, was seen;
He with Olympias; this with her who bore
Scipio, the height of Rome. With tract oblique
At first, as one who sought access, but fear'd
To interrupt, side-long he works his way.

As when a ship, by skilful steersman wrought
Nigh river's mouth, or foreland, where the wind
Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sails;
So varied he, and of his tortuous train
Curl'd many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve,
To lure her eye: she, busied, heard the sound
Of rustling leaves, but minded not, as us'd
To such disport before her through the field
From ev'ry beast, more duteous at her call,
Than at Circean call the herd disguis'd.
He, bolder now, uncall'd before her stood,
But as in gaze admiring: oft he bow'd
His turret crest, and sleek enamell'd neck,
Fawning; and lick'd the ground whereon she trod:
His gentle dumb expression turn'd at length
The eye of Eve, to mark his play: he, glad
Of her attention gain'd, with serpent-tongue
Organic, or impulse of vocal air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began:
"Wonder not, sov'reign mistress (if perhaps
"Thou canst, who art sole wonder) much less arm
"Thy looks, the heaven of mildness, with disdain,
"Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
"Insatiate—I thus single; nor have fear'd
"Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd,
"Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair!
"Thee all things living gaze on—all things thine
"By gift, and thy celestial beauty adore,
"With ravishment beheld—there best beheld,
"Where universally admir'd: but here
"In this enclosure wild, these beasts among,
"Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
"Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
"Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who should be seen
"A goddess among gods, ador'd and serv'd
"By angels numberless, thy daily train."
So gloz'd the tempter, and his proem tun'd:
Into the heart of Eve his words made way,

Though at the voice much marvelling: at length,
Not unamaz'd, she thus in answer spake:
" What may this mean? language of man pronounc'd
" By tongue of brute, and human sense express'd!
" The first, at least, of these I thought denied
" To beasts, whom God, on their creation-day,
" Created mute to all articulate sound:
" The latter I demur; for in their looks
" Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears.
" Thee, serpent, subtlest beast of all the field
" I knew; but not with human voice endued.
" Redouble then this miracle, and say
" How cam'st thou speakable of mute; and how
" To me so friendly grown above the rest
" Of brutal kind, that daily are in sight?
" Say, for such wonder claims attention due."
To whom the guileful tempter thus replied:
" Empress of this fair world, resplendent Eve!
" Easy to me it is to tell thee all
" What thou command'st; and right thou shouldst be obeyed:
" I was at first as other beasts that graze
" The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low,
" As was my food; nor aught but food discern'd,
" Or sex, and apprehended nothing high:
" Till, on a day roving the field, I chane'd
" A goodly tree far distant to behold,
" Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mix'd,
" Ruddy and gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
" When from the boughs a savoury odour blown,
" Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my sense
" Than smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats
" Of ewe or goat, dropping with milk at even,
" Unsuck'd of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
" To satisfy the sharp desire I had
" Of tasting those fair apples, I resolv'd
" Not to defer; hunger and thirst at once,
" Powerful persuaders, quicken'd at the scent

" Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keen.
" About the mossy trunk I wound me soon;
" For, high from ground, the branches would require
" Thy utmost reach, or Adam's: round the tree
" All other beasts that saw, with like desire,
" Longing and envying stood, but could not reach.
" Amid the tree now got, where plenty hung
" Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill
" I spar'd not; for, such pleasure, till that hour,
" At feed, or fountain, never had I found.
" Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
" Strange alteration in me, to degree
" Of reason in my inward powers; and speech
" Wanted not long; though to this shape retain'd.
" Thenceforth to speculations, high or deep,
" I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
" Consider'd all things visible in heaven,
" Or earth, or middle—all things fair, and good:
" But all that fair, and good, in thy divine
" Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray
" United I beheld; no fair to thine
" Equivalent, or second! which compell'd
" Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come
" And gaze, and worship thee, of right declar'd
" Sov'reign of creatures, universal dame!"
So talk'd the spirited sly snake; and Eve,
Yet more amaz'd, unwary thus replied:
" Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt
" The virtue of that fruit, in thee first prov'd:
" But say, where grows the tree? from hence how far?
" For many are the trees of God that grow
" In Paradise, and various, yet unknown
" To us; in such abundance lies our choice,
" As leaves a greater store of fruit untouch'd,
" Still hanging incorruptible, till men
" Grow up to their provision, and more hands
" Help to disburden nature of her birth."
To whom the wily adder, blithe and glad:

" Empress! the way is ready, and not long;
" Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
" Fast by a fountain, one small thicket past
" Of blowing myrrh and balm: if thou accept
" My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon."
" Lead then," said Eve.
He, leading, swiftly roll'd
In tangles, and made intricate seem straight;
To mischief swift. Hope elevates, and joy
Brightens his crest. As when a wandering fire,
Compact of unctuous vapour, which the night
Condenses, and the cold environs round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame,
(Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends,)
Hov'ring and blazing with delusive light,
Misleads th' amaz'd night-wand'rer from his way
To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
There swallow'd up and lost, from succour far:
So glister'd the dire snake, and into fraud
Led Eve, our credulous mother, to the tree
Of prohibition, root of all our woe!
Which when she saw, thus to her guide she spake:
" Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither,
" Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess,
" The credit of whose virtue rest with thee;
" Wondrous indeed, if cause of such effects!
" But of this tree we may not taste, nor touch;
" God so commanded, and left that command
" Sole daughter of his voice: the rest, we live
" Law to ourselves; our reason is our law."
To whom the tempter guilefully replied:
" Indeed! hath God then said that of the fruit
" Of all these garden-trees ye shall not eat,
" Yet lords declar'd of all in earth, or air?"
To whom thus Eve, yet sinless:
" Of the fruit
" Of each tree in the garden we may eat;
" But of the fruit of this fair tree amidst

" The garden, God hath said 'Ye shall not eat
" 'Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'"
She scarce had said, though brief, when now, more bold,
The tempter, but with show of zeal and love
To man, and indignation at his wrong,
New part puts on; and, as to passion mov'd,
Fluctuates disturb'd, yet comely, and in act
Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin.
As when of old some orator renown'd,
In Athens, or free Rome, where eloquence
Flourish'd, since mute, to some great cause address'd,
Stood in himself collected, while each part—
Each motion—act, won audience ere the tongue—
Sometimes in height began, as no delay
Of preface brooking, through his zeal of right:
So standing, moving, or to height up-grown,
The tempter, all impassion'd, thus began:
" O sacred, wise, and wisdom-giving plant,
" Mother of science! now I feel thy power
" Within me clear, not only to discern
" Things in their causes, but to trace the ways
" Of highest agents deem'd however wise.
" Queen of this universe! do not believe
" Those rigid threats of death: ye shall not die:
" How should you? By the fruit? it gives you life
" To knowledge. By the threatener? look on me—
" Me, who have touch'd and tasted; yet both live,
" And life more perfect have attain'd than fate
" Meant me, by venturing higher than my lot.
" Shall that be shut to man, which to the beast
" Is open? or will God incense his ire
" For such a petty trespass, and not praise
" Rather your dauntless virtue, whom the pain
" Of death denounc'd, (whatever thing death be,)
" Deterr'd not from achieving what might lead
" To happier life—knowledge of good and evil;
" Of good, how just? of evil, (if what is evil
" Be real,) why not known, since easier shunn'd?

" God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just;
" Not just, not God—not fear'd then, nor obey'd:
" Your fear itself of death removes the fear.
" Why then was this forbid? Why, but to awe?
" Why, but to keep ye low and ignorant,
" His worshippers? He knows that in the day
" Ye eat thereof, your eyes, that seem so clear,
" Yet are but dim, shall presently be then
" Open'd and clear'd, and ye shall be as gods,
" Knowing both good and evil as they know.
" That ye shall be as gods, since I as man—
" Internal man, is but proportion meet;
" I, of brute, human; ye, of human, gods.
" So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
" Human, to put on gods; death to be wish'd,
" Though threaten'd, which no worse than this can bring!
" And what are gods, that man may not become
" As they, participating god-like food?
" The gods are first, and that advantage use
" On our belief that all from them proceeds:
" I question it; for this fair earth I see
" Warm'd by the sun, producing every kind;
" Them, nothing: if they all things, who enclos'd
" Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
" That whoso eats thereof forthwith attains
" Wisdom without their leave? and wherein lies
" The offence, that man should thus attain to know?
" What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree
" Impart against his will, if all be his?
" Or is it envy? and can envy dwell
" In heavenly breasts? These, these, and many more
" Causes, import your need of this fair fruit.
" Goddess humane, reach then, and freely taste."
He ended; and his words, replete with guile,
Into her heart too easy entrance won:
Fix'd on the fruit she gaz'd, which to behold
Might tempt alone; and in her ears the sound
Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregn'd

With reason, to her seeming, and with truth.
Meanwhile the hour of noon drew on, and wak'd
An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell
So savoury of that fruit; which with desire
Inclinable now grown to touch, or taste,
Solicited her longing eye: yet first
Pausing awhile, thus to herself she mus'd:
" Great are thy virtues, doubtless, best of fruits!
" Though kept from man, and worthy to be admir'd;
" Whose taste, too long forborne, at first assay
" Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
" The tongue not made for speech to speak thy praise:
" Thy praise he also, who forbids thy use,
" Conceals not from us, naming thee the tree
" Of knowledge—knowledge both of good and evil—
" Forbids us then to taste! but his forbidding
" Commends thee more, while it infers the good
" By thee communicated, and our want;
" For good unknown sure is not had; or, had
" And yet unknown, is as not had at all.
" In plain then, what forbids he but to know—
" Forbids us good—forbids us to be wise?
" Such prohibitions bind not. But, if death
" Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
" Our inward freedom? In the day we eat
" Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we shall die!
" How dies the serpent? he hath eaten and lives,
" And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
" Irrational till then! For us alone
" Was death invented? or to us denied
" This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd?
" For beasts it seems: yet that one beast which first
" Hath tasted, envies not, but brings with joy
" The good befall'n him—author unsuspect—
" Friendly to man—far from deceit or guile.
" What fear I then? rather, what know to fear
" Under this ignorance of good or evil—
" Of God, or death—of law, or penalty?

" Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,
" Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,
" Of virtue to make wise! What hinders then
" To reach, and feed at once both body and mind?"
So saying, her rash hand, in evil hour,
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd—she ate!
Earth felt the wound; and nature from her seat,
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
That all was lost! Back to the thicket slunk
The guilty serpent; and well might; for Eve,
Intent now wholly on her taste, nought else
Regarded; such delight till then, as seem'd,
In fruit she never tasted; whether true,
Or fancied so, through expectation high
Of knowledge; nor was godhead from her thought.
Greedily she engorg'd, without restraint,
And knew not eating death! Satiate at length,
And heighten'd as with wine, jocund and boon,
Thus to herself she pleasingly began:
" O sovran, virtuous, precious of all trees
" In paradise! of operation blest
" To sapience! hitherto obscur'd, infam'd;
" And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
" Created; but henceforth my early care,
" Not without song, each morning, and due praise,
" Shall tend thee, and the fertile burden ease
" Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;
" Till, dieted by thee, I grow mature
" In knowledge, as the gods, who all things know;
" Though others envy what they cannot give:
" For, had the gift been theirs, it had not here
" Thus grown. Experience, next, to thee I owe,
" Best guide! not following thee, I had remain'd
" In ignorance; thou open'st wisdom's way,
" And giv'st access, though secret she retire.
" And I perhaps am secret: heaven is high,
" High, and remote to see from thence distinct
" Each thing on earth; and other care, perhaps,

" May have diverted from continual watch
" Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies
" About him. But to Adam in what sort
" Shall I appear? Shall I to him make known
" As yet my change, and give him to partake
" Full happiness with me? or rather not,
" But keep the odds of knowledge in my power,
" Without copartner? so to add what wants
" In female sex, the more to draw his love,
" And render me more equal; and perhaps,
" A thing not undesirable, sometime
" Superior; for, inferior, who is free?
" This may be well. But what if God have seen,
" And death ensue? then I shall be no more!
" And Adam, wedded to another Eve,
" Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
" A death to think! Confirm'd then I resolve,
" Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe:
" So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
" I could endure; without him live no life."
So saying, from the tree her step she turn'd;
But first low reverence done, as to the power
That dwelt within, whose presence had infus'd
Into the plant sciential sap, deriv'd
From nectar, drink of gods. Adam the while,
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest flowers a garland, to adorn
Her tresses, and her rural labours crown;
As reapers oft are wont their harvest queen.
Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return so long delay'd:
Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill,
Misgave him: he the falt'ring measure felt;
And forth to meet her went, the way she took
That morn when first they parted: by the tree
Of knowledge he must pass; there he her met,
Scarce from the tree returning; in her hand
A bough of fairest fruit, that downy smil'd,

New gather'd, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.
To him she hasted: in her face excuse
Came prologue, and apology too prompt;
Which, with bland words at will, she thus address'd:
" Hast thou not wonder'd, Adam, at my stay?
" Thee I have miss'd, and thought it long, depriv'd
" Thy presence; agony of love till now
" Not felt, nor shall be twice; for never more
" Mean I to try, what rash untried I sought,
" The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
" Hath been the cause, and wonderful to hear:
" This tree is not, as we are told, a tree
" Of danger tasted; nor to evil unknown
" Opening the way, but of divine effect
" To open eyes, and make them gods who taste;
" And hath been tasted such. The serpent wise,
" Or not restrain'd as we, or not obeying,
" Hath eaten of the fruit; and is become
" Not dead, as we are threaten'd; but thenceforth
" Endued with human voice, and human sense;
" Reasoning to admiration! and with me
" Persuasively hath so prevail'd, that I
" Have also tasted, and have also found
" The effects to correspond—opener mine eyes,
" Dim erst—dilated spirits—ampler heart—
" And growing up to godhead; which for thee
" Chiefly I sought, without thee can despise.
" For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss;
" Tedious, unshar'd with thee, and odious soon.
" Thou therefore also taste, that equal lot
" May join us—equal joy, as equal love;
" Lest, thou not tasting, different degree
" Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
" Deity for thee, when fate will not permit."
Thus Eve with count'nance blithe her story told;
But in her cheek distemper flushing glow'd.
On th' other side, Adam, soon as he heard
The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,

Astonied stood, and blank! while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd!
From his slack hand the garland wreath'd for Eve
Down dropt, and all the faded roses shed.
Speechless he stood and pale; till thus, at length,
First to himself he inward silence broke:
"O fairest of creation! last and best
"Of all God's works! creature, in whom excell'd
"Whatever can to sight or thought be form'd
"Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
"How art thou lost! how on a sudden lost,
"Defac'd, deflower'd, and now to death devote!
"Rather, how hast thou yielded to transgress
"The strict forbiddance! how, to violate
"The sacred fruit forbidden! Some cursed fraud
"Of enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
"And me with thee hath ruin'd; for with thee
"Certain my resolution is to die.
"How can I live without thee—how forego
"Thy sweet convérse, and love so dearly join'd,
"To live again in these wild woods forlorn?
"Should God create another Eve, and I
"Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
"Would never from my heart: no, no! I feel
"The link of nature draw me: flesh of flesh,
"Bone of my bone, thou art; and from thy state
"Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe!"
So having said, as one from sad dismay
Recomforted, and, after thoughts disturb'd,
Submitting to what seem'd remediless,
Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turn'd:
"Bold deed thou hast presum'd, adventurous Eve!
"And peril great provok'd, who thus hast dar'd,
"Had it been only coveting to eye
"That sacred fruit—sacred to abstinence,
"Much more to taste it, under ban to touch.
"But past who can recall, or done undo?
"Not God omnipotent, nor fate. Yet so

" Perhaps thou shalt not die; perhaps the fact
" Is not so heinous now,—foretasted fruit,—
" Profan'd first by the serpent,—by him first
" Made common, and unhallow'd, ere our taste,
" Nor yet on him found deadly; he yet lives—
" Lives, as thou saidst, and gains to live, as man,
" Higher degree of life; inducement strong
" To us, as likely tasting to attain
" Proportional ascent; which cannot be
" But to be gods, or angels—demi-gods.
" Nor can I think that God, Creator wise,
" Though threat'ning, will in earnest so destroy
" Us his prime creatures, dignified so high,
" Set over all his works; which, in our fall,
" For us created, needs with us must fail,
" Dependent made: so God shall uncreate—
" Be frustrate—do—undo, and labour lose;
" Not well conceiv'd of God, who, though his power
" Creation could repeat, yet would be loth
" Us to abolish, lest the adversary
" Triumph, and say, ' Fickle their state whom God
" ' Most favours! who can please him long? Me first
" ' He rüin'd, now mankind; whom will he next?'
" Matter of scorn, not to be given the foe.
" However, I with thee have fix'd my lot,
" Certain to undergo like doom: if death
" Consort with thee, death is to me as life;
" So forcible within my heart I feel
" The bond of nature draw me to my own—
" My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
" Our state cannot be sever'd; we are one—
" One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself."
So Adam; and thus Eve to him replied:
" O glorious trial of exceeding love,
" Illustrious evidence, example high,
" Engaging me to emulate! but, short
" Of thy perfection, how shall I attain,
" Adam? from whose dear side I boast me sprung;

" And gladly of our union hear thee speak,
" One heart, one soul in both; whereof good proof
" This day affords, declaring thee resolv'd
" Rather than death, or aught than death more dread,
" Shall separate us, link'd in love so dear,
" To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
" If any be, of tasting this fair fruit;
" Whose virtue (for of good still good proceeds,
" Direct, or by occasion) hath presented
" This happy trial of thy love, which else
" So eminently never had been known.
" Were it I thought death menac'd would ensue
" This my attempt, I would sustain alone
" The worst, and not persuade thee,—rather die
" Deserted, than oblige thee with a fact
" Pernicious to thy peace; chiefly, assur'd
" Remarkably so late of thy so true,
" So faithful, love unequall'd: but I feel
" Far otherwise the event; not death, but life
" Augmented—open'd eyes—new hopes—new joys—
" Taste so divine, that what of sweet before
" Hath touch'd my sense, flat seems to this, and harsh.
" On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
" And fear of death deliver to the winds."
So saying, she embrac'd him, and for joy
Tenderly wept; much won, that he his love
Had so ennobled, as of choice to incur
Divine displeasure for her sake, or death.
In recompense, (for such compliance bad
Such recompense best merits,) from the bough
She gave him of that fair enticing fruit
With liberal hand: he scrupled not to eat,
Against his better knowledge; not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome with female charm.
Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs; and nature gave a second groan;
Sky low'r'd, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal sin

Original! while Adam took no thought,
Eating his fill; nor Eve to iterate
Her former trespass fear'd, the more to soothe
Him with her lov'd society, that now,
As with new wine intoxicated both,
They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them, breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the earth. But that false fruit
Far other operation first display'd,
Carnal desire inflaming: he on Eve
Began to cast lascivious eyes; she him
As wantonly repaid: in lust they burn:
Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move:
" Eve! now I see thou art exact of taste,
" And elegant; of sapience no small part,
" (Since to each meaning savour we apply,
" And palate call judicious:) I the praise
" Yield thee, so well this day thou hast purvey'd.
" Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstain'd
" From this delightful fruit, nor know till now
" True relish, tasting: if such pleasure be
" In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd
" For this one tree had been forbidden ten.
" But come, so well refresh'd, now let us play,
" As meet is, after such delicious fare;
" For never did thy beauty, since the day
" I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd
" With all perfections, so inflame my sense
" With ardour to enjoy thee, fairer now
" Than ever; bounty of this virtuous tree!"
So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he seiz'd; and to a shady bank,
Thick over-head with verdant roof imbower'd,
He led her nothing loth: flowers were the couch,
Pansies, and violets, and asphodel,
And hyacinths—earth's freshest, softest lap.

There they their fill of love and love's disport
Took largely—of their mutual guilt the seal—
The solace of their sin; till dewy sleep
Oppress'd them, wearied with their amorous play.
Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit,
That with exhilarating vapour bland
About their spirits had play'd, and inmost powers
Made err, was now exhal'd; and grosser sleep,
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
Encumber'd, now had left them, up they rose
As from unrest; and, each the other viewing,
Soon found their eyes how open'd, and their minds
How darken'd! Innocence, that, as a veil,
Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone;
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour, from about them naked left
To guilty shame; he cover'd, but his robe
Uncover'd more. So rose the Danite strong,
Herculean Samson, from the harlot-lap
Of Philistéan Dalilah, and wak'd
Shorn of his strength; they, destitute and bare
Of all their virtue. Silent, and in face
Confounded, long they sat, as strucken mute;
Till Adam, though not less than Eve abash'd,
At length gave utterance to these words constrain'd:
" O Eve! in evil hour thou didst give ear
" To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
" To counterfeit man's voice; true in our fall,
" False in our promis'd rising; since our eyes
" Open'd we find indeed, and find we know
" Both good and evil—good lost, and evil got!
" Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know,
" Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
" Of innocence, of faith, of purity—
" Our wonted ornaments now soil'd and stain'd;
" And in our faces evident the signs
" Of foul concupiscence; whence evil store—
" Even shame, the last of evils: of the first

"Be sure then. How shall I behold the face
"Henceforth of God, or angel, erst with joy
"And rapture so oft beheld? Those heavenly shapes
"Will dazzle now this earthly with their blaze,
"Insufferably bright. O! might I here
"In solitude live savage; in some glade
"Obscur'd, where highest woods, impenetrable
"To star, or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad,
"And brown as ev'ning! Cover me, ye pines!
"Ye cedars, with innumerable boughs
"Hide me, where I may never see them more!
"But let us now, as in bad plight, devise
"What best may for the present serve to hide
"The parts of each from other, that seem most
"To shame obnoxious, and unseemliest seen;
"Some tree, whose broad smooth leaves together sew'd,
"And girded on our loins, may cover round
"Those middle parts; that this new-comer, shame,
"There sit not, and reproach us as unclean."
So counsell'd he, and both together went
Into the thickest wood: there soon they chose
The fig-tree; not that kind for fruit renown'd,
But such as at this day, to Indians known
In Malabar, or Decan, spreads her arms,
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother-tree, a pillar'd shade
High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between;
There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds,
At loop-holes cut through thickest shade: those leaves
They gather'd, broad as Amazonian targe;
And, with what skill they had, together sew'd,
To gird their waist; vain covering, if to hide
Their guilt and dreaded shame! O, how unlike
To that first naked glory! (Such of late
Columbus found the American, so girt
With feather'd cincture; naked else, and wild

Among the trees, on isles and woody shores.)
Thus fenc'd, and, as they thought, their shame in part
Cover'd, but not at rest or ease of mind,
They sat them down to weep. Not only tears
Rain'd at their eyes; but high winds worse within
Began to rise—high passions, anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord; and shook sore
Their inward state of mind—calm region once
And full of peace—now tost and turbulent!
For understanding rul'd not, and the will
Heard not her lore; both in subjection now
To sensual appetite, who, from beneath,
Usurping, over sov'reign reason claim'd
Superior sway. From thus distemper'd breast,
Adam, estrang'd in look and alter'd style,
Speech intermitted thus to Eve renew'd:
" Would thou hadst hearken'd to my words, and staid
" With me, as I besought thee, when that strange
" Desire of wand'ring, this unhappy morn,
" I know not whence, possess'd thee! we had then
" Remain'd still happy; not, as now, despoil'd
" Of all our good—sham'd, naked, miserable!
" Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve
" The faith they owe: when earnestly they seek
" Such proof, conclude they then begin to fail."
To whom, soon mov'd with touch of blame, thus Eve:
" What words have pass'd thy lips, Adam severe!
" Imput'st thou that to my default, or will
" Of wand'ring, as thou call'st it, which who knows
" But might as ill have happen'd, thou being by,
" Or to thyself, perhaps? Hadst thou been there,
" Or here the attempt, thou couldst not have discern'd
" Fraud in the serpent, speaking as he spake;
" No ground of enmity between us known,
" Why he should mean me ill, or seek to harm.
" Was I to have never parted from thy side?
" As good have grown there still a lifeless rib.
" Being as I am, why didst not thou, the head,

" Command me absolutely not to go,
" Going into such danger, as thou saidst?
" Too facile then, thou didst not much gainsay;
" Nay, didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
" Hadst thou been firm and fix'd in thy dissent,
" Neither had I transgress'd, nor thou with me."
To whom, then first incens'd, Adam replied:
" Is this the love, is this the recompense
" Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve! express'd
" Immutable when thou wert lost, not I
" Who might have liv'd, and 'joy'd immortal bliss,
" Yet willingly chose rather death with thee?
" And am I now upbraided as the cause
" Of thy transgressing? Not enough severe,
" It seems, in thy restraint! What could I more?
" I warned thee,—I admonish'd thee—foretold
" The danger, and the lurking enemy
" That lay in wait; beyond this, had been force;
" And force upon free will hath here no place.
" But confidence then bore thee on, secure
" Either to meet no danger, or to find
" Matter of glorious trial: and perhaps
" I also err'd, in overmuch admiring
" What seem'd in thee so perfect, that I thought
" No evil durst attempt thee; but I rue
" That error now, which is become my crime,
" And thou the accuser! Thus it shall befal
" Him who, to worth in woman overtrusting,
" Lets her will rule: restraint she will not brook;
" And, left to herself, if evil thence ensue,
" She first his weak indulgence will accuse."
Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours; but neither self-condemning:
And of their vain contést appeared no end.

BOOK X.

THE ARGUMENT.

MAN'S transgression known, the guardian-angels forsake Paradise, and return up to heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved; God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the transgressors; who descends and gives sentence accordingly; then in pity clothes them both, and reascends. Sin and Death, sitting till then at the gates of hell, by wondrous sympathy feeling the success of Satan in this new world, and the sin by man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confined in hell, but to follow Satan their sire up to the place of man: to make the way easier from hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad highway or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan first made; then preparing for earth, they meet him, proud of his success, returning to hell; their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium: in full assembly relates with boasting his success against man; instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transformed with himself also suddenly into serpents according to his doom given in Paradise; then deluded with a show of the forbidden tree springing up before them, they, greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and Death; God foretels the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but for the present, commands his angels to make several alterations in the heavens and elements. Adam, more and more perceiving his fallen condition, heavily bewails, rejects the condolement of Eve; she persists, and at length appeases him: then to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not; but, conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise made them, that her seed should be revenged on the serpent; and exhorts her with him to seek peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and supplication.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

MEANWHILE the heinous and despiteful act
Of Satan done in Paradise, and how
He, in the serpent, had perverted Eve,
Her husband she, to taste the fatal fruit,
Was known in heaven; for what can 'scape the eye
Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart
Omniscient? who, in all things wise and just,
Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the mind
Of man, with strength entire and free-will arm'd,
Complete to have discover'd, and repuls'd,
Whatever wiles of foe, or seeming friend.
For still they knew, and ought to have still remember'd,
The high injunction—not to taste that fruit,
Whoever tempted; which they not obeying
Incurr'd (what could they less?) the penalty;
And, manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.

Up into heaven, from Paradise, in haste
The angelic guards ascended, mute and sad
For man! for of his state by this they knew;
Much wond'ring how the subtle fiend had stol'n
Entrance unseen. Soon as the unwelcome news

From earth arriv'd at heaven-gate, displeas'd
All were who heard; dim sadness did not spare
That time celestial visages, yet, mix'd
With pity, violated not their bliss.
About the new arriv'd, in multitudes
The ethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befel: they, towards the throne supreme,
Accountable made haste, to make appear,
With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance,
And easily approv'd: when the Most High
Eternal Father, from his secret cloud
Amidst, in thunder utter'd thus his voice:
" Assembled Angels, and ye Powers return'd
" From unsuccessful charge! be not dismay'd,
" Nor troubled at these tidings from the earth,
" Which your sincerest care could not prevent,
" Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
" When first this tempter cross'd the gulf from hell.
" I told ye then he should prevail, and speed
" On his bad errand; man should be seduc'd,
" And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
" Against his Maker; no decree of mine
" Concurring to necessitate his fall,
" Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
" His free-will, to her own inclining left
" In even scale. But fall'n he is; and now
" What rests, but that the mortal sentence pass
" On his transgression—death denounc'd that day?
" Which he presumes already vain and void,
" Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
" By some immediate stroke; but soon shall find
" Forbearance no acquittance, ere day end.
" Justice shall not return, as bounty, scorn'd.
" But whom send I to judge them? Whom but thee,
" Vicegerent Son? To thee I have transferr'd
" All judgment, whether in heaven, or earth, or hell.
" Easy it may be seen that I intend
" Mercy colleague with justice, sending thee,

" Man's friend, his Mediator—his design'd
" Both ransom and Redeemer voluntary;
" And destin'd man himself to judge man fall'n."
So spake the Father; and, unfolding bright
Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
Blaz'd forth unclouded deity: he full
Resplendent all his Father manifest
Express'd, and thus divinely answer'd mild:
" Father Eternal! thine is to decree:
" Mine, both in heaven and earth, to do thy will
" Supreme; that thou in me, thy Son belov'd,
" May'st ever rest well pleas'd. I go to judge
" On earth these thy transgressors; but thou knowest,
" Whoever judg'd, the worst on me must light
" When time shall be; for so I undertook
" Before thee; and, not repenting, this obtain
" Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
" On me deriv'd: yet I shall temper so
" Justice with mercy, as may illustrate most
" Them fully satisfied, and thee appease.
" Attendance none shall need, nor train, where none
" Are to behold the judgment, but the judg'd—
" Those two; the third, best absent, is condemn'd,
" Convict by flight, and rebel to all law:
" Conviction to the serpent none belongs."
Thus saying, from his radiant seat he rose
Of high collateral glory. Him Thrones, and Powers,
Princedoms, and Dominations ministrant,
Accompanied to heaven-gate; from whence
Eden, and all the coast, in prospect lay.
Down he descended straight: the speed of gods
Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes wing'd.
Now was the sun in western cadence low
From noon; and gentle airs, due at their hour,
To fan the earth now wak'd, and usher in
The ev'ning cool; when he, from wrath more cool,
Came—the mild Judge, and Intercessor both—
To sentence man. The voice of God they heard,

Now walking in the garden, by soft winds
Brought to their ears while day declin'd—they heard,
And from his presence hid themselves among
The thickest trees, both man and wife; till God
Approaching, thus to Adam call'd aloud:
" Where art thou, Adam, wont with joy to meet
" My coming seen far off? I miss thee here,
" Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with solitude,
" Where obvious duty erewhile appear'd unsought.
" Or come I less conspicuous? or what change
" Absents thee? or what chance detains? Come forth!"
He came; and with him Eve, more loth, though first
To offend—discount'nanc'd both, and discompos'd:
Love was not in their looks, either to God,
Or to each other; but apparent guilt,
And shame, and perturbation, and despair,
Anger, and obstinacy, and hate, and guile.
Whence Adam, faltering long, thus answer'd brief:
" I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice
" Afraid, being naked, hid myself."
To whom
The gracious Judge, without revile, replied:
" My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not fear'd,
" But still rejoic'd; how is it now become
" So dreadful to thee? That thou art naked, who
" Hath told thee? Hast thou eaten of the tree,
" Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?"
To whom thus Adam, sore beset, replied:
" O heaven! in evil strait this day I stand
" Before my Judge; either to undergo
" Myself the total crime, or to accuse
" My other self, the partner of my life;
" Whose failing, while her faith to me remains,
" I should conceal, and not expose to blame
" By my complaint: but strict necessity
" Subdues me, and calamitous constraint;
" Lest on my head both sin and punishment,
" However insupportable, be all

" Devolv'd: though, should I hold my peace, yet thou
" Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.
" This woman, whom thou mad'st to be my help,
" And gav'st me as thy perfect gift—so good—
" So fit—so acceptable—so divine,
" That from her hand I could suspect no ill,
" And what she did—whatever in itself,
" Her doing seem'd to justify the deed;
" She gave me of the tree, and I did eat."
To whom the Sov'ran Presence thus replied:
" Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey
" Before his voice? or was she made thy guide,
" Superior, or but equal, that to her
" Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
" Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
" And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd
" Hers in all real dignity? Adorn'd
" She was indeed, and lovely, to attract
" Thy love, not thy subjection; and her gifts
" Were such, as under government well seem'd—
" Unseemly to bear rule; which was thy part
" And person, hadst thou known thyself aright."
So having said, he thus to Eve in few:
" Say, woman, what is this which thou hast done?"
To whom sad Eve, with shame nigh overwhelm'd,
Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge
Bold or loquacious, thus abash'd replied:
" The serpent me beguil'd, and I did eat!"
Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
To judgment he proceeded on the accus'd
Serpent, though brute; unable to transfer
The guilt on him who made him instrument
Of mischief, and polluted from the end
Of his creation; justly then accurs'd,
As vitiated in nature: more to know
Concern'd not man, (since he no further knew,)
Nor alter'd his offence; yet God at last
To Satan first in sin his doom applied,

Though in mysterious terms, judg'd as then best:
And on the serpent thus his curse let fall:
" Because thou hast done this, thou art accurs'd
" Above all cattle, each beast of the field;
" Upon thy belly grovelling thou shalt go,
" And dust shalt eat all the days of thy life.
" Between thee and the woman I will put
" Enmity, and between thine and her seed;
" Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel."
So spake this oracle, then verified
When Jesus, Son of Mary, second Eve,
Saw Satan fall, like lightning, down from heaven,
Prince of the air; then, rising from his grave,
Spoil'd Principalities and Powers, triumph'd
In open show; and, with ascension bright,
Captivity led captive through the air,
The realm itself of Satan, long usurp'd;
Whom he shall tread at last under our feet,
Ev'n he, who now foretold his fatal bruise:
And to the woman thus his sentence turn'd:
" Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply
" By thy conception; children thou shalt bring
" In sorrow forth; and to thy husband's will
" Thine shall submit; he over thee shall rule."
On Adam last thus judgment he pronounc'd:
" Because thou hast hearken'd to the voice of thy wife,
" And eaten of the tree concerning which
" I charg'd thee, saying, ' Thou shalt not eat thereof;'
" Curs'd is the ground for thy sake; thou in sorrow
" Shalt eat thereof, all the days of thy life;
" Thorns also, and thistles, it shall bring thee forth
" Unbid; and thou shalt eat of the herb of the field:
" In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,
" Till thou return unto the ground; for thou
" Out of the ground wast taken; know thy birth!
" For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return."
So judg'd he man, both Judge and Saviour sent;
And the instant stroke of death denounc'd that day,

Remov'd far off; then, pitying how they stood
Before him naked to the air, that now
Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the form of servant to assume;
As when he washed his servants' feet; so now,
As father of his family, he clad
Their nakedness with skins of beasts, or slain,
Or, as the snake, with youthful coat repaid;
And thought not much to clothe his enemies:
Nor he their outward only, with the skins
Of beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
Opprobrious, with his robe of righteousness
Arraying, cover'd from his Father's sight.
To him with swift ascent he up return'd,
Into his blissful bosom re-assum'd
In glory, as of old—to him appeas'd
All, though all-knowing—what had pass'd with man
Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.
Meanwhile, ere thus was sinn'd and judg'd on earth,
Within the gates of hell sat Sin and Death,
In counterview within the gates, that now
Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
Far into Chaos, since the fiend pass'd through,
Sin opening; who thus now to Death began:
"O son! why sit we here each other viewing
"Idly, while Satan, our great author, thrives
"In other worlds, and happier seat provides
"For us his offspring dear? It cannot be
"But that success attends him: if mishap,
"Ere this he had return'd, with fury driv'n
"By his avengers; since no place like this
"Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
"Methinks I feel new strength within me rise—
"Wings growing—and dominion given me large,
"Beyond this deep; whatever draws me on—
"Or sympathy, or some connatural force,
"Powerful at greatest distance to unite,
"With secret amity, things of like kind,

" By secretest conveyance. Thou, my shade
" Inseparable, must with me along:
" For Death from Sin no power can separate.
" But, lest the difficulty of passing back
" Stay his return, perhaps, over this gulf
" Impassable—impervious, let us try
" Adventurous work, yet to thy power and mine
" Not unagreeable—to found a path
" Over this main from hell to that new world,
" Where Satan now prevails—a monument
" Of merit high to all the infernal host;
" Easing their passage hence, for intercourse,
" Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
" Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
" By this new-felt attraction and instinct."
Whom thus the meagre shadow answer'd soon:
" Go, whither fate, and inclination strong,
" Leads thee: I shall not lag behind, nor err
" The way, thou leading; such a scent I draw
" Of carnage, prey innumerable! and taste
" The savour of death from all things there that live:
" Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest
" Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid."
So saying, with delight he snuff'd the smell
Of mortal change on earth. As when a flock
Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,
Against the day of battle, to a field
Where armies lie encamp'd, come flying, lur'd
With scent of living carcasses, design'd
For death the following day in bloody fight:
So scented the grim feature, and upturn'd
His nostril wide into the murky air,
Sagacious of his quarry from so far.
Then both, from out hell-gates, into the waste
Wide anarchy of Chaos, damp and dark,
Flew diverse; and with power (their power was great)
Hovering upon the waters, what they met
Solid or slimy, (as in raging sea

Toss'd up and down,) together crowded drove,
From each side shoaling towards the mouth of hell:
As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that stop the imagin'd way
Beyond Petsora eastward, to the rich
Cathaian coast. The aggregated soil
Death, with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
As with a trident, smote, and fix'd as firm
As Delos, floating once: the rest his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move:
And with asphaltic slime broad as the gate,
Deep to the roots of hell the gather'd beach
They fasten'd; and the mole immense wrought on
Over the foaming deep, high-arch'd—a bridge
Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
Immoveable of this now fenceless world,
Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad,
Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to hell.
So, if great things to small may be compar'd,
Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Susa, his Memnonian palace high,
Came to the sea; and, over Hellespont
Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd,
And scourg'd with many a stroke the indignant waves.
Now had they brought the work, by wondrous art
Pontifical,—a ridge of pendant rock,
Over the vex'd abyss, following the track
Of Satan to the self-same place where he
First lighted from his wing, and landed safe
From out of Chaos, to the outside bare
Of this round world: with pins of adamant,
And chains, they made all fast—too fast they made,
And durable! And now, in little space,
The confines met of empyréan heaven,
And of this world; and on the left hand, hell
With long reach interpos'd: three several ways
In sight, to each of these three places led.

And now their way to earth they had descried,
To Paradise first tending; when, behold!
Satan, in likeness of an angel bright,
Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion steering
His zenith, while the sun in Aries rose:
Disguis'd he came; but those his children dear
Their parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.
He, after Eve seduc'd, unminded slunk
Into the wood fast by; and, changing shape
To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded
Upon her husband—saw their shame that sought
Vain covertures: but when he saw descend
The Son of God to judge them, terrified
He fled; not hoping to escape, but shun
The present; fearing, guilty, what his wrath
Might suddenly inflict; that past, return'd
By night, and, listening where the hapless pair
Sat in their sad discourse and various plaint,
Thence gather'd his own doom; which understood,
Not instant, but of future time, with joy
And tidings fraught, to hell he now return'd;
And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhop'd
Met, who to meet him came, his offspring dear.
Great joy was at their meeting, and at sight
Of that stupendous bridge his joy increas'd.
Long he admiring stood; till Sin, his fair
Enchanting daughter, thus the silence broke:
"O parent! these are thy magnific deeds—
"Thy trophies! which thou view'st as not thine own;
"Thou art their author, and prime architect;
"For I no sooner in my heart divin'd
"(My heart, which by a secret harmony
"Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet)
"That thou on earth hadst prosper'd, which thy looks
"Now also evidence, but straight I felt,
"Though distant from thee worlds between—yet felt,

" That I must after thee, with this thy son:
" Such fatal consequence unites us three.
" Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds,
" Nor this unvoyageable gulf obscure
" Detain from following thy illustrious track:
" Thou hast achiev'd our liberty, confin'd
" Within hell-gates till now: thou us empower'd
" To fortify thus far, and overlay,
" With this portentous bridge, the dark abyss.
" Thine now is all this world; thy virtue hath won
" What thy hands builded not; thy wisdom gain'd
" With odds what war hath lost, and fully aveng'd
" Our foil in heaven: here thou shalt monarch reign—
" There didst not: there let him still victor sway,
" As battle hath adjudg'd; from this new world
" Retiring, by his own doom alienated;
" And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
" Of all things, parted by the empyreal bounds—
" His quadrature, from thy orbicular world;
" Or try thee, now more dangerous to his throne."
Whom thus the prince of darkness answer'd glad:
" Fair daughter, and thou son and grandchild both,
" High proof ye now have given to be the race
" Of Satan, (for I glory in the name,
" Antagonist of heaven's Almighty King,)
" Amply have merited of me—of all
" The infernal empire, that, so near heaven's door,
" Triumphal with triumphal act have met,
" Mine, with this glorious work; and made one realm,
" Hell, and this world—one realm, one continent
" Of easy thoroughfare. Therefore, while I
" Descend through darkness, on your road with ease,
" To my associate Powers, them to acquaint
" With these successes, and with them rejoice,
" You two this way, among these num'rous orbs—
" All yours, right down to Paradise descend;
" There dwell, and reign in bliss: thence on the earth
" Dominion exercise and in the air,

" Chiefly on man, sole lord of all declar'd;
" Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.
" My substitutes I send ye, and create
" Plenipotent on earth, of matchless might
" Issuing from me: on your joint vigour now
" My hold of this new kingdom all depends;
" Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
" If your joint power prevail, the affairs of hell
" No detriment need fear. Go, and be strong!"
So saying, he dismiss'd them; they with speed
Their course through thickest constellations held,
Spreading their bane: the blasted stars look'd wan;
And planets, planet-struck, real eclipse
Then suffer'd. The other way Satan went down
The causey to hell-gate: on either side
Disparted Chaos, overbuilt, exclaim'd,
And with rebounding surge the bars assail'd,
That scorn'd his indignation. Through the gate,
Wide open and unguarded, Satan pass'd,
And all about found desolate; for those
Appointed to sit there, had left their charge,
Flown to the upper world; the rest were all
Far to the inland retir'd, about the walls
Of Pandemonium—city and proud seat
Of Lucifer, so by allusion call'd
Of that bright star to Satan paragon'd:
There kept their watch the legions, while the grand
In council sat, solicitous what chance
Might intercept their emperor sent; so he
Departing gave command, and they observ'd.
As when the Tartar from his Russian foe,
By Astracan, over the snowy plains,
Retires; or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns
Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond
The realm of Aladule, in his retreat
To Taurus, or Casbeen; so these, the late
Heav'n-banish'd host, left desert utmost hell
Many a dark league, reduc'd in careful watch

Round their metropolis; and now expecting
Each hour their great adventurer from the search
Of foreign worlds. He through the midst unmark'd,
In show plebeian angel militant
Of lowest order, pass'd; and from the door
Of that Plutonian hall, invisible
Ascended his high throne; which, under state
Of richest texture spread, at the upper end
Was plac'd in regal lustre. Down a while
He sat, and round about him saw, unseen:
At last, as from a cloud, his fulgent head,
And shape star-bright, appear'd, or brighter; clad
With what permissive glory since his fall
Was left him, or false glitter. All amaz'd
At that so sudden blaze, the Stygian throng
Bent their aspect, and whom they wish'd beheld,—
Their mighty chief return'd. Loud was th' acclaim!
Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers,
Rais'd from their dark divan, and with like joy
Congratulant approach'd him; who with hand
Silence, and with these words attention, won:
"Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers!
"For in possession such, not only of right,
"I call ye, and declare ye now; return'd,
"Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
"Triumphant out of this infernal pit,
"Abominable—accurs'd—the house of woe,
"And dungeon of our tyrant: now possess,
"As lords, a spacious world, to our native heaven
"Little inferior—by my adventure hard
"With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell
"What I have done—what suffer'd; with what pain
"Voyaged the unreal, vast, unbounded deep
"Of horrible confusion! over which,
"By Sin and Death, a broad way now is pav'd
"To expedite your glorious march; but I
"Toil'd out my uncouth passage, forc'd to ride
"The untractable abyss, plung'd in the womb

" Of unoriginal Night, and Chaos wild;
" That, jealous of their secrets, fiercely oppos'd
" My journey strange, with clamorous uproar
" Protesting fate supreme; thence how I found
" The new-created world, which fame in heaven
" Long had foretold—a fabric wonderful,
" Of absolute perfection! therein man,
" Plac'd in a Paradise, by our exile
" Made happy! Him by fraud I have seduc'd
" From his Creator; and, the more to increase
" Your wonder, with an apple! He, thereat
" Offended, (worth your laughter!) hath given up
" Both his beloved man, and all his world,
" To Sin and Death a prey; and so to us,
" Without our hazard, labour, or alarm,
" To range in, and to dwell, and over man
" To rule, as over all he should have rul'd.
" True is, me also he hath judg'd; or rather
" Me not, but the brute serpent in whose shape
" Man I deceiv'd: that which to me belongs
" Is enmity, which he will put between
" Me and mankind; I am to bruise his heel;
" His seed, (when is not set,) shall bruise my head.
" A world who would not purchase with a bruise,
" Or much more grievous pain? Ye have the account
" Of my performance: what remains, ye Gods!
" But up, and enter now into full bliss?"
So having said, a while he stood, expecting
Their universal shout, and high applause,
To fill his ear; when, contrary, he hears
On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
A dismal universal hiss!—the sound
Of public scorn. He wonder'd; but not long
Had leisure, wond'ring at himself now more:
His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare;
His arms clung to his ribs; his legs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell
A monstrous serpent, on his belly prone,

Reluctant; but in vain! a greater Power
Now rul'd him, punish'd in the shape he sinn'd,
According to his doom. He would have spoke,
But hiss for hiss return'd with forked tongue
To forked tongue; for now were all transform'd
Alike, to serpents all, as accessories
To his bold riot: dreadful was the din
Of hissing through the hall, thick-swarming now
With complicated monsters, head and tail,
Scorpion and asp, and amphisbæna dire,
Cerastes horn'd, hydrus, and elops drear,
And dipsas; (not so thick swarm'd once the soil
Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the isle
Ophiusa;) but still greatest he the midst,
Now dragon grown; larger than whom the sun
Ingender'd in the Pythian vale or slime—
Huge Python; and his power no less he seem'd
Above the rest still to retain. They all
Him followed, issuing forth to the open field,
Where all yet left of that revolted rout,
Heaven-fall'n, in station stood, or just array;
Sublime with expectation when to see
In triumph issuing forth their glorious chief.
They saw, but other sight instead—a crowd
Of ugly serpents! horror on them fell,
And horrid sympathy; for, what they saw,
They felt themselves now changing: down their arms—
Down fell the spear and shield—down they as fast;
And the dire hiss renew'd, and the dire form
Catch'd by contagion; like in punishment,
As in their crime. Thus was the applause they meant
Turn'd to exploding hiss,—triumph to shame,
Cast on themselves from their own mouths. There stood
A grove hard by, sprung up with this their change,
(His will who reigns above!) to aggravate
Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that
Which grew in Paradise, the bait of Eve

Us'd by the tempter: on that prospect strange
Their earnest eyes they fix'd, imagining
For one forbidden tree a multitude
Now risen, to work them further woe or shame;
Yet, parch'd with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
Though to delude them sent, could not abstain;
But on they roll'd in heaps, and, up the trees
Climbing, sat thicker than the snaky locks
That curl'd Megæra. Greedily they pluck'd
The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd;
This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
Deceiv'd: they, fondly, thinking to allay
Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit
Chew'd bitter ashes, which the offended taste
With spatt'ring noise rejected: oft they assay'd,
Hunger and thirst constraiuing; drugg'd as oft,
With hatefullest disrelish, writh'd their jaws,
With soot and cinders fill'd: so oft they fell
Into the same illusion, not as man
Whom they triúmphed—once laps'd. Thus were they plagued
And worn with famine, long and ceaseless hiss,
Till their lost shape, permitted, they resum'd:
Yearly enjoin'd, some say, to undergo
This annual humbling certain number'd days,
To dash their pride, and joy, for man seduc'd.
However, some tradition they dispers'd
Among the heathen of their purchase got;
And fabled how the serpent, whom they call'd
Ophion, with Eurynome, (the wide-
Encroaching Eve perhaps,) had first the rule
Of high Olympus; thence by Saturn driv'n,
And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.
Meanwhile, in Paradise the hellish pair
Too soon arriv'd: Sin, there in power before,
Once actual; now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant; behind her Death,

Close following, pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horse; to whom Sin thus began:
" Second of Satan sprung, all-conquering Death!
" What think'st thou of our empire now, though earn'd
" With travel difficult? not better far
" Than still at hell's dark threshold to have sat watch,
" Unnam'd, undreaded, and thyself half-starv'd?"
Whom thus the sin-born monster answer'd soon:
" To me, who with eternal famine pine,
" Alike is hell, or Paradise, or heaven;
" There best, where most with ravine I may meet:
" Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems
" To stuff this maw—this vast un-hidebound corpse."
To whom the incestuous mother thus replied:
" Thou therefore on these herbs, and fruits, and flowers,
" Feed first; on each beast next, and fish, and fowl—
" No homely morsels: and whatever thing
" The scythe of Time mows down, devour unspar'd;
" Till I, in man residing, through the race,
" His thoughts, his looks, words, actions, all infect;
" And season him thy last and sweetest prey."
This said, they both betook them several ways,
Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for destruction to mature
Sooner or later; which the Almighty seeing,
From his transcendent seat the Saints among,
To those bright orders utter'd thus his voice:
" See! with what heat these dogs of hell advance
" To waste and havoc yonder world, which I
" So fair and good created! and had still
" Kept in that state, had not the folly of man
" Let in these wasteful furies, who impute
" Folly to me: so doth the prince of hell
" And his adherents, that with so much ease
" I suffer them to enter and possess
" A place so heavenly; and, conniving seem
" To gratify my scornful enemies,
" That laugh, as if, transported with some fit

" Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
" At random yielded up to their misrule;
" And know not that I call'd, and drew them thither,
" My hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth
" Which man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
" On what was pure; till, cramm'd and gorg'd, nigh
" burst
" With suck'd and glutted offal, at one sling
" Of thy victorious arm, well-pleasing Son,
" Both Sin, and Death, and yawning grave, at last
" Through Chaos hurl'd, obstruct the mouth of Hell
" For ever, and seal up his rav'nous jaws.
" Then heaven and earth renew'd shall be made pure
" To sanctity, that shall receive no stain:
" Till then, the curse pronounc'd on both precedes."
He ended, and the heavenly audience loud
Sung hallelujah, as the sound of seas
Through multitude that sung: " Just are thy ways,
" Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works;
" Who can extenuate thee?" Next, to the Son,
" Destin'd Restorer of mankind, by whom
" New heaven and earth shall to the ages rise,
" Or down from heaven descend."
Such was their song;
While the Creator, calling forth by name
His mighty angels, gave them several charge,
As sorted best with present things. The sun
Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
As might affect the earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable; and from the north to call
Decrepit winter; from the south to bring
Solstitial summer's heat. To the blank moon
Her office they prescrib'd: to the other five
Their planetary motions, and aspects,
In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite,
Of noxious efficacy; and when to join
In synod unbenign: and taught the Fix'd
Their influence malignant when to shower;

Which of them, rising with the sun, or falling,
Should prove tempestuous. To the winds they set
Their corners; when with bluster to confound
Sea, air, and shore; the thunder when to roll
With terror through the dark aërial hall.
Some say he bid his angels turn askance
The poles of earth, twice ten degrees and more,
From the sun's axle; they with labour push'd
Oblique the centric globe: some say, the sun
Was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road
Like-distant breadth to Taurus, with the seven
Atlantic Sisters, and the Spartan Twins,
Up to the tropic Crab; thence, down amain
By Leo, and the Virgin, and the Scales,
As deep as Capricorn; to bring in change
Of seasons to each clime: else had the spring
Perpetual smil'd on earth with verdant flowers,
Equal in days and nights, except to those
Beyond the polar circles; to them day
Had unbenighted shone, while the low sun,
To recompense his distance, in their sight
Had rounded still the horizon, and not known
Or east or west; which had forbid the snow
From cold Estotiland, and south as far
Beneath Magellan. At that tasted fruit
The sun, as from Thyéstean banquet, turn'd
His course intended; else, how had the world
Inhabited, though sinless, more than now
Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat?
These changes in the heavens, though slow, produc'd
Like change on sea and land—sideral blast,
Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,
Corrupt and pestilent. Now, from the north
Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore,
Bursting their brazen dungeon, arm'd with ice,
And snow, and hail, and stormy gust, and flaw,
Boreas, and Cæcias, and Argestes loud,
And Thrascias, rend the woods, and seas upturn:

With adverse blast upturns them from the south
Notus, and Afer, black with thund'rous clouds
From Serraliona: thwart of these, as fierce,
Forth rush the Levant, and the Ponent winds,
Eurus and Zephyr, with their lateral noise,
Sirocco, and Libecchio. Thus began
Outrage from lifeless things: but Discord first,
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
Death introduc'd, through fierce antipathy:
Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fish with fish: to graze the herb all leaving
Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe
Of man, but fled him; or, with countenance grim,
Glar'd on him passing. These were from without—
The growing miseries, which Adam saw
Already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
To sorrow abandoned; but worse felt within!
And, in a troubled sea of passion tost,
Thus to disburden sought with sad complaint:
" O miserable, of happy! Is this the end
" Of this new glorious world; and me so late
" The glory of that glory, who now become
" Accurs'd, of blessed? Hide me from the face
" Of God, whom to behold was then my height
" Of happiness! Yet well, if here would end
" The misery! I deserv'd it, and would bear
" My own deservings; but this will not serve:
" All that I eat, or drink, or shall beget,
" Is propagated curse. O voice, once heard
" Delightfully, ' Increase and multiply;'
" Now death to hear! for what can I increase,
" Or multiply, but curses on my head?
" Who, of all ages to succeed, but, feeling
" The evil on him brought by me, will curse
" My head? ' Ill fare our ancestor impure:
" ' For this we may thank Adam!' but his thanks
" Shall be the execration. So, besides
" Mine own that bide upon me, all from me

" Shall with a fierce reflux on me rebound—
" On me, as on their natural centre, light:
" Heavy, though in their place. O fleeting joys
" Of Paradise, dear-bought with lasting woes!
" Did I request thee, Maker! from my clay
" To mould me man? Did I solicit thee
" From darkness to promote me, or here place
" In this delicious garden? As my will
" Concurr'd not to my being, it were but right
" And equal to reduce me to my dust—
" Desirous to resign, and render back
" All I receiv'd—unable to perform
" Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
" The good I sought not. To the loss of that
" (Sufficient penalty!) why hast thou added
" The sense of endless woes? Inexplicable
" Thy justice seems! Yet, to say truth, too late
" I thus contest: then should have been refused
" Those terms, whatever, when they were proposed;
" Thou didst accept them: wilt thou enjoy the good,
" Then cavil the conditions? And, though God
" Made thee without thy leave, what if thy son
" Prove disobedient; and, reprov'd, retort,
" ' Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not!'
" Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
" That proud excuse? yet him, not thy election,
" But natural necessity, begot.
" God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
" To serve him; thy reward was of his grace;
" Thy punishment then justly is at his will.
" Be it so, for I submit; his doom is fair,
" That dust I am, and shall to dust return:
" O welcome hour whenever! Why delays
" His hand to execute what his decree
" Fix'd on this day? Why do I overlive?
" Why am I mock'd with death, and lengthen'd out
" To deathless pain? How gladly would I meet
" Mortality—my sentence, and be earth

" Insensible! How glad would lay me down,
" As in my mother's lap! There I should rest,
" And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
" Would thunder in my ears; no fear of worse
" To me, and to my offspring, would torment me
" With cruel expectation! Yet one doubt
" Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die;
" Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of man,
" Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish
" With this corporeal clod: then, in the grave,
" Or in some other dismal place, who knows
" But I shall die a living death? O thought
" Horrid, if true! Yet why? It was but breath
" Of life that sinn'd: what dies, but what had life
" And sin? The body properly hath neither.
" All of me then shall die: let this appease
" The doubt, since human reach no further knows.
" For though the Lord of all be infinite,
" Is his wrath also? Be it: man is not so,
" But mortal doom'd. How can he exercise
" Wrath without end, on man whom death must end?
" Can he make deathless death? That were to make
" Strange contradiction, which to God himself
" Impossible is held, as argument
" Of weakness, not of power. Will he draw out,
" For anger's sake, finite to infinite,
" In punish'd man, to satisfy his rigour,
" Satisfied never? That were to extend
" His sentence beyond dust and nature's law,
" By which all causes else, according still
" To the reception of their matter, act;
" Not to the extent of their own sphere. But say
" That death be not one stroke, as I suppos'd,
" Bereaving sense; but endless misery
" From this day onward, which I feel begun
" Both in me, and without me, and so last
" To perpetuity: ay me! that fear
" Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution

" On my defenceless head: both death and I
" Are found eternal, and incorporate both:
" Nor I on my part single; in me all
" Posterity stands curs'd: fair patrimony
" That I must leave ye, sons! O, were I able
" To waste it all myself, and leave ye none!
" So disinherited, how would ye bless
" Me, now your curse! Ah, why should all mankind,
" For one man's fault, thus guiltless be condemn'd,
" If guiltless? But from me what can proceed,
" But all corrupt; both mind and will depraved,
" Not to do only, but to will the same
" With me? How can they then acquitted stand
" In sight of God? Him, after all disputes,
" Forc'd I absolve: all my evasions vain,
" And reas'nings, though through mazes, lead me still
" But to my own conviction: first and last
" On me—me only, as the source and spring
" Of all corruption, all the blame lights due:
" So might the wrath! Fond wish! couldst thou support
" That burden, heavier than the earth to bear—
" Than all the world much heavier; though divided
" With that bad woman? Thus, what thou desir'st,
" And what thou fear'st, alike destroys all hope
" Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable
" Beyond all past example and future—
" To Satan only like, both crime and doom.
" O conscience! into what abyss of fears
" And horrors hast thou driven me, out of which
" I find no way; from deep to deeper plung'd!"
Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
Through the still night; not now, as ere man fell,
Wholesome, and cool, and mild; but with black air
Accompanied, with damps, and dreadful gloom;
Which to his evil conscience represented
All things with double terror. On the ground
Outstretch'd he lay—on the cold ground; and oft
Curs'd his creation—death as oft accus'd

Of tardy execution, since denounc'd
The day of his offence. "Why comes not death,"
Said he, "with one thrice acceptable stroke
"To end me? Shall Truth fail to keep her word?
"Justice divine not hasten to be just?
"But death comes not at call; Justice divine
"Mends not her slowest pace for prayers, or cries.
"O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales, and bowers,
"With other echo late I taught your shades
"To answer, and resound far other song!"
Whom, thus afflicted, when sad Eve beheld
Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,
Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd;
But her with stern regard he thus repell'd:
"Out of my sight, thou serpent! That name best
"Befits thee, with him leagued; thyself as false
"And hateful! nothing wants, but that thy shape,
"Like his, and colour serpentine, may show
"Thy inward fraud; to warn all creatures from thee
"Henceforth; lest that too heavenly form, pretended,
"To hellish falsehood snare them! But for thee
"I had persisted happy: had not thy pride
"And wand'ring vanity, when least was safe,
"Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
"Not to be trusted—longing to be seen,
"Though by the devil himself, him overweening
"To over-reach; but, with the serpent meeting,
"Fool'd and beguil'd: by him thou, I by thee,
"To trust thee from my side; imagin'd wise,
"Constant, mature, proof against all assaults;
"And understood not all was but a show,
"Rather than solid virtue; all but a rib
"Crooked by nature, bent (as now appears)
"More to the part sinister, from me drawn;
"Well if thrown out, as supernumerary
"To my just number found! O! why did God,
"Creator wise, that peopled highest heaven
"With spirits masculine, create at last

" This novelty on earth, this fair defect
" Of nature?—and not fill the world at once
" With men, as angels, without feminine?
" Or find some other way to generate
" Mankind? This mischief had not then befall'n,
" And more that shall befal—innumerable
" Disturbances on earth through female snares,
" And strait conjunction with this sex; for either
" He never shall find out fit mate, but such
" As some misfortune brings him, or mistake;
" Or, whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
" Through her perverseness, but shall see her gain'd
" By a far worse; or, if she love, withheld
" By parents; or, his happiest choice too late
" Shall meet, already link'd and wedlock-bound
" To a fell adversary, his hate, or shame:
" Which infinite calamity shall cause
" To human life, and household peace confound."
He added not, and from her turn'd: but Eve,
Not so repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing,
And tresses all disorder'd, at his feet
Fell humble; and, embracing them, besought
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint:
" Forsake me not thus, Adam! Witness heaven
" What love sincere, and reverence, in my heart
" I bear thee! and unweeting have offended,
" Unhappily deceiv'd! Thy suppliant
" I beg, and clasp thy knees: bereave me not
" (Whereon I live!) thy gentle looks, thy aid,
" Thy counsel, in this uttermost distress;
" My only strength, and stay! Forlorn of thee,
" Whither shall I betake me? where subsist?
" While yet we live,—scarce one short hour perhaps,—
" Between us two let there be peace—both joining,
" As join'd in injuries—one enmity
" Against a foe by doom express assign'd us,
" That cruel serpent! On me exercise not
" Thy hatred for this misery befall'n—

" On me already lost—me than thyself
" More miserable! Both have sinn'd; but thou
" Against God only, I against God and thee:
" And to the place of judgment will return;
" There with my cries impórtune Heaven; that all
" The sentence, from thy head remov'd, may light
" On me—sole cause to thee of all this woe—
" Me—me only—just object of his ire!"
She ended, weeping; and her lowly plight,
Immovable till peace obtain'd from fault
Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought
Commiseration: soon his heart relented
Towards her, his life so late, and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress!
Creature so fair his reconcilement seeking—
His counsel whom she had displeas'd—his aid!
As one disarm'd his anger all he lost,
And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon:
" Unwary, and too desirous (as before,
" So now) of what thou know'st not, who desir'st
" The punishment all on thyself! Alas!
" Bear thine own first, ill able to sustain
" His full wrath, whose thou feel'st as yet least part;
" And my displeasure bear'st so ill. If prayers
" Could alter high decrees, I to that place
" Would speed before thee, and be louder heard
" That on my head all might be visited;
" Thy frailty and infirmer sex forgiv'n,
" To me committed, and by me expos'd.
" But rise: let us no more contend, nor blame
" Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere; but strive
" In offices of love, how we may lighten
" Each other's burden in our share of woe;
" Since this day's death denounc'd, if aught I see,
" Will prove no sudden, but a slow-pac'd evil;
" A long day's dying to augment our pain;
" And to our seed (O hapless seed!) deriv'd."
To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, replied:

" Adam! by sad experiment I know
" How little weight my words with thee can find,
" Found so erroneous; thence by just event
" Found so unfortunate; nevertheless,
" Restor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
" Of new acceptance. Hopeful to regain
" Thy love, the sole contentment of my heart
" Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
" What thoughts in my unquiet breast are ris'n,
" Tending to some relief of our extremes,
" Or end; though sharp and sad, yet tolerable
" As in our evils, and of easier choice.
" If care of our descent perplex us most,
" Which must be born to certain woe, devour'd
" By death at last; (and miserable it is,
" To be to others cause of misery,
" Our own begotten; and of our loins to bring
" Into this cursed world a woful race,
" That after wretched life must be at last
" Food for so foul a monster;) in thy power
" It lies, yet ere conception, to prevent
" The race unblest, to being yet unbegot.
" Childless thou art, childless remain: so Death
" Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two
" Be forc'd to satisfy his rav'nous maw.
" But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
" Conversing—looking—loving, to abstain
" From love's due rites—nuptial embraces sweet,
" And with desire to languish without hope,
" Before the present object languishing
" With like desire, which would be misery
" And torment less than none of what we dread;
" Then, both ourselves and seed at once to free
" From what we fear for both, let us make short—
" Let us seek Death; or, he not found, supply
" With our own hands his office on ourselves.
" Why stand we longer shiv'ring under fears
" That show no end but death, and have the power

"Of many ways to die?—the shortest choosing,
"Destruction with destruction to destroy?"
She ended here; or vehement despair
Broke off the rest: so much of death her thoughts
Had entertain'd, as dyed her cheeks with pale.
But Adam, with such counsel nothing sway'd,
To better hopes his more attentive mind
Labouring had rais'd; and thus to Eve replied:
"Eve! thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
"To argue in thee something more sublime
"And excellent, than what thy mind contemns:
"But self-destruction, therefore sought, refutes
"That excellence thought in thee; and implies,
"Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
"For loss of life and pleasure overlov'd.
"Or if thou covet death, as utmost end
"Of misery, so thinking to evade
"The penalty pronounc'd, doubt not but God
"Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire, than so
"To be forestall'd: much more I fear lest death,
"So snatch'd, will not exempt us from the pain
"We are by doom to pay; rather, such acts
"Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
"To make death in us live. Then let us seek
"Some safer resolution; which methinks
"I have in view, calling to mind with heed
"Part of our sentence, that 'Thy seed shall bruise
"'The serpent's head.' Piteous amends! unless
"Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe,
"Satan; who, in the serpent, hath contriv'd
"Against us this deceit: to crush his head
"Would be revenge indeed! which will be lost
"By death brought on ourselves, or childless days
"Resolv'd, as thou proposest; so our foe
"Shall 'scape his punishment ordain'd, and we
"Instead shall double ours upon our heads.
"No more be mention'd then of violence
"Against ourselves; and wilful barrenness

" That cuts us off from hope; and savours only
" Rancour and pride, impatience and despite,
" Reluctance against God and his just yoke
" Laid on our necks. Remember with what mild
" And gracious temper he both heard, and judg'd,
" Without wrath, or reviling: we expected
" Immediate dissolution, which we thought
" Was meant by death that day; when, lo! to thee
" Pains only in childbearing were foretold,
" And bringing forth; soon recompens'd with joy,
" Fruit of thy womb: on me the curse aslope
" Glanc'd on the ground; with labour I must earn
" My bread; what harm? Idleness had been worse:
" My labour will sustain me. And, lest cold
" Or heat should injure us, his timely care
" Hath, unbesought, provided; and his hands
" Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd:
" How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
" Be open, and his heart to pity incline?
" And teach us further by what means to shun
" The inclement seasons—rain, ice, hail, and snow?
" Which now the sky, with various face, begins
" To show us in this mountain; while the winds
" Blow moist and keen, shatt'ring the graceful locks
" Of these fair-spreading trees: which bids us seek
" Some better shroud, some better warmth, to cherish
" Our limbs benumb'd; ere this diurnal star
" Leave cold the night, how we his gather'd beams
" Reflected may with matter sere foment;
" Or, by collision of two bodies, grind
" The air attrite to fire; as late the clouds
" Justling, or push'd with winds, rude in their shock,
" Tine the slant lightning; whose thwart flame driv'n
" down,
" Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine,
" And sends a comfortable heat from far
" Which might supply the sun. Such fire to use,
" And what may else be remedy or cure

" To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought,
" He will instruct us praying, and of grace
" Beseeching him; so as we need not fear
" To pass commodiously this life, sustain'd
" By him with many comforts, till we end
" In dust—our final rest and native home!
" What better can we do, than, to the place
" Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
" Before him reverent; and there confess
" Humbly our faults, and pardon beg? with tears
" Wat'ring the ground, and with our sighs the air
" Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
" Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.
" Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
" From his displeasure; in whose look serene,
" When angry most he seem'd and most severe,
" What else but favour, grace, and mercy, shone?"
So spake our father penitent; nor Eve
Felt less remorse: they, forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent; and both confess'd
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd; with tears
Wat'ring the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

BOOK XI.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of our first parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise; sends Michael with a band of Cherubim to dispossess them; but first to reveal to Adam future things: Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs; he discerns Michael's approach; goes out to meet him: the angel denounces their departure. Eve's lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits: the angel leads him up to a high hill; sets before him in vision what shall happen till the flood.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XI.

THUS they, in lowliest plight, repentant stood
Praying; for, from the mercy-seat above,
Prevenient grace descending had remov'd
The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
Regen'rate grow instead; that sighs now breath'd,
Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer
Inspir'd, and wing'd for heaven with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory: yet their port
Not of mean suitors; nor important less
Seem'd their petition, than when the ancient pair
In fables old, (less ancient yet than these,)
Deucalion, and chaste Pyrrha, to restore
The race of mankind drown'd, before the shrine
Of Themis stood devout. To heaven their prayers
Flew up, nor miss'd the way, by envious winds
Blown vagabond, or frustrate: in they pass'd
Dimensionless through heavenly doors; then, clad
With incense, where the golden altar fum'd
By their great Intercessor, came in sight
Before the Father's throne: them the glad Son
Presenting, thus to intercede began:
" See, Father, what first-fruits on earth are sprung
" From thy implanted grace in man! these sighs

" And prayers, which, in this golden censer, mix'd
" With incense, I thy priest before thee bring—
" Fruits of more pleasing savour, from thy seed
" Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
" Which, his own hand manuring, all the trees
" Of Paradise could have produced, ere fall'n
" From innocence. Now therefore, bend thine ear
" To supplication; hear his sighs, though mute;
" Unskilful with what words to pray, let me
" Interpret for him—me, his advocate
" And propitiation; all his works on me,
" Good, or not good, ingraft; my merit those
" Shall perfect, and for these my death shall pay.
" Accept me; and, in me, from these receive
" The smell of peace toward mankind: let him live
" Before thee reconcil'd,—at least his days
" Number'd,—though sad; till death, his doom, (which I
" To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse,)
" To better life shall yield him; where with me
" All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliss;
" Made one with me, as I with thee am one."
To whom the Father, without cloud, serene:
" All thy request for man, accepted Son,
" Obtain; all thy request was my decree.
" But, longer in that Paradise to dwell,
" The law I gave to nature him forbids:
" Those pure immortal elements that know
" No gross, no unharmonious mixture foul,
" Eject him, tainted now; and purge him off,
" As a distemper gross, to air as gross,
" And mortal food; as may dispose him best
" For dissolution, wrought by sin that first
" Distemper'd all things, and of incorrupt
" Corrupted. I, at first, with two fair gifts
" Created him endow'd—with happiness,
" And immortality: that, fondly lost;
" This other serv'd but to eternize woe,
" Till I provided death: so death becomes

" His final remedy; and, after life
" Tried in sharp tribulation, and refin'd
" By faith and faithful works, to second life,
" Wak'd in the renovation of the just,
" Resigns him up, with heaven and earth renew'd.
" But let us call to synod all the blest
" Through heaven's wide bounds: from them I will not
" hide
" My judgments, how with mankind I proceed;
" As how with peccant angels late they saw,
" And in their state, though firm, stood more confirm'd."
He ended; and the Son gave signal high
To the bright minister that watch'd: he blew
His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps
When God descended, and perhaps once more
To sound at gen'ral doom.—The angelic blast
Fill'd all the regions: from their blissful bowers
Of amaranthine shade, fountain or spring,
By the waters of life, where'er they sat
In fellowships of joy, the sons of light
Hasted, resorting to the summons high;
And took their seats: till, from his throne supreme,
The Almighty thus pronounc'd his sov'ran will:
" O Sons, like one of us man is become
" To know both good and evil, since his taste
" Of that defended fruit; but let him boast
" His knowledge of good lost, and evil got:
" Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known
" Good by itself, and evil not at all!
" He sorrows now, repents, and prays contrite,
" My motions in him; longer than they move,
" His heart I know how variable and vain,
" Self-left. Lest therefore his now bolder hand
" Reach also of the tree of life, and eat,
" And live for ever—dream at least to live
" For ever, to remove him I decree,
" And send him from the garden forth, to till
" The ground whence he was taken—fitter soil!

" Michael, this my behest have thou in charge:
" Take to thee from among the cherubim
" Thy choice of flaming warriors; lest the fiend,
" Or in behalf of man, or to invade
" Vacant possession, some new trouble raise:
" Haste thee, and from the Paradise of God,
" Without remorse, drive out the sinful pair;
" From hallow'd ground the unholy; and denounce
" To them, and to their progeny, from thence
" Perpetual banishment. Yet, lest they faint
" At the sad sentence rigorously urg'd,
" (For I behold them soften'd, and with tears
" Bewailing their excess,) all terror hide.
" If patiently thy bidding they obey,
" Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveal
" To Adam what shall come in future days,
" As I shall thee enlighten; intermix
" My covenant in the woman's seed renew'd;
" So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace.
" And on the east side of the garden, place,
" Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs,
" Cherubic watch; and of a sword the flame
" Wide-waving; all approach far off to fright,
" And guard all passage to the tree of life;
" Lest Paradise a receptacle prove
" To spirits foul, and all my trees their prey;
" With whose stol'n fruit man once more to delude."
He ceas'd; and th' arch-angelic Power prepar'd
For swift descent; with him the cohort bright
Of watchful cherubim: four faces each
Had, like a double Janus; all their shape
Spangled with eyes, more numerous than those
Of Argus; and more wakeful than to drowse,
Charm'd with Arcadian pipe, the pastoral reed
Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Meanwhile,
To re-salute the world with sacred light,
Leucothea wak'd, and with fresh dews embalm'd
The earth; when Adam, and first matron Eve,

Had ended now their orisons, and found
Strength added from above—new hope to spring
Out of despair—joy, but with fear yet linked;
Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd:
"Eve! easily may faith admit that all
"The good which we enjoy from heaven descends:
"But, that from us aught should ascend to heaven,
"So prevalent as to concern the mind
"Of God high-blest, or to incline his will,
"Hard to belief may seem; yet this will prayer,
"Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
"Ev'n to the seat of God. For since I sought
"By prayer the offended Deity to appease,
"Kneel'd, and before him humbled all my heart,
"Methought I saw him placable, and mild,
"Bending his ear: persuasion in me grew
"That I was heard with favour; peace return'd
"Home to my breast; and to my memory
"His promise, that thy seed shall bruise our foe;
"Which, then not minded in dismay, yet now
"Assures me that the bitterness of death
"Is past, and we shall live. Whence hail to thee,
"Eve rightly call'd, mother of all mankind!
"Mother of all things living, since by thee
"Man is to live; and all things live for man."
To whom thus Eve, with sad demeanour meek:
"Ill-worthy I, such title should belong
"To me transgressor! who, for thee ordain'd
"A help, became thy snare: to me reproach
"Rather belongs, distrust, and all dispraise.
"But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
"That I, who first brought death on all, am grac'd
"The source of life: next favourable, thou,
"Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf'st,
"Far other name deserving. But the field
"To labour calls us now with sweat impos'd,
"Though after sleepless night; for see! the morn,
"All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins

" Her rosy progress smiling: let us forth;
" I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
" Where'er our day's work lies, though now enjoin'd
" Laborious till day droop: while here we dwell,
" What can be toilsome in these pleasant walks?
" Here let us live, though in fall'n state, content!"
So spake, so wish'd, much-humbled Eve; but fate
Subscrib'd not: nature first gave signs, impress'd
On bird, beast, air: air suddenly eclipsed,
After short blush of morn; nigh in her sight
The bird of Jove, stoop'd from his aery tour,
Two birds of gayest plume before him drove;
Down from a hill the beast that reigns in woods,
First hunter then, pursued a gentle brace,
Goodliest of all the forest—hart and hind;
Direct to the eastern gate was bent their flight.
Adam observ'd, and with his eye the chase
Pursuing, not unmov'd, to Eve thus spake:
" O Eve! some further change awaits us nigh,
" Which Heaven, by these mute signs in nature, shows
" Forerunners of his purpose; or to warn
" Us, haply too secure of our discharge
" From penalty, because from death releas'd
" Some days: how long, and what till then our life,
" Who knows? or more than this, that we are dust,
" And thither must return, and be no more?
" Why else this double object in our sight
" Of flight pursued in the air, and o'er the ground,
" One way the self-same hour? why in the East
" Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning-light
" More orient in yon western cloud, that draws
" O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
" And slow descends with something heavenly fraught?"
He err'd not; for by this the heavenly bands
Down from a sky of jasper lighted now
In Paradise, and on a hill made halt;
A glorious apparition! had not doubt,
And carnal fear, that day dimm'd Adam's eye.

Not that more glorious, when the angels met
Jacob in Mahanaïm, where he saw
The field pavilion'd with his guardians bright;
Nor that, which on the flaming mount appear'd
In Dothan, cover'd with a camp of fire,
Against the Syrian king; who, to surprise
One man, assassin like, had levied war—
War unproclaim'd. The princely hierarch
In their bright stand there left his powers, to seize
Possession of the garden: he alone,
To find where Adam shelter'd, took his way;
Not unperceiv'd of Adam, who, to Eve,
While the great visitant approach'd, thus spake:
" Eve! now expect great tidings, which perhaps
" Of us will soon determine, or impose
" New laws to be observ'd; for I descry,
" From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
" One of the heavenly host, and, by his gait,
" None of the meanest—some great Potentate,
" Or of the Thrones above; such majesty
" Invests him coming! yet not terrible,
" That I should fear; nor sociably mild,
" As Raphaël, that I should much confide;
" But solemn and sublime; whom, not to offend,
" With reverence I must meet, and thou retire."
He ended: and the archangel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape celestial, but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flow'd,
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
In time of truce; Iris had dipt the woof:
His starry helm unbuckled show'd him prime
In manhood where youth ended: by his side,
As in a glistering zodiac, hung the sword,
Satan's dire dread; and in his hand the spear.
Adam bow'd low: he, kingly, from his state
Inclin'd not, but his coming thus declar'd:

" Adam! Heaven's high behest no preface needs:
" Sufficient that thy prayers are heard; and death,
" Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,
" Defeated of his seizure; many days
" Given thee of grace, wherein thou mayst repent,
" And one bad act with many deeds well done
" Mayst cover: well may then thy Lord, appeas'd,
" Redeem thee quite from death's rapacious claim;
" But longer in this Paradise to dwell
" Permits not: to remove thee I am come,
" And send thee from the garden forth, to till
" The ground whence thou wast taken—fitter soil."
He added not; for Adam at the news
Heart-struck with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
That all his senses bound: Eve, who unseen
Yet all had heard, with audible lament
Discover'd soon the place of her retire.
" O unexpected stroke, worse than of death!
" Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
" Thee, native soil! these happy walks and shades,
" Fit haunt of gods? where I had hope to spend
" Quiet, though sad, the respite of that day
" That must be mortal to us both. O flowers,
" That never will in other climate grow;
" My early visitation, and my last
" At even; which I bred up with tender hand
" From the first opening bud, and gave ye names!
" Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
" Your tribes, and water from the ambrosial fount?
" Thee lastly, nuptial bower! by me adorn'd
" With what to sight or smell was sweet! from thee
" How shall I part, and whither wander down
" Into a lower world?—to this, obscure
" And wild! How shall we breathe in other air
" Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits?"
Whom thus the angel interrupted mild:
" Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign

" What justly thou hast lost; nor set thy heart,
" Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine:
" Thy going is not lonely; with thee goes
" Thy husband; him to follow thou art bound;
" Where he abides, think there thy native soil."
Adam, by this from the cold sudden damp
Recovering, and his scatter'd spirits return'd,
To Michael thus his humble words address'd:
" Celestial! whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
" Of them the highest; for such of shape may seem
" Prince above princes! gently hast thou told
" Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
" And in performing end us: what besides
" Of sorrow, and dejection, and despair,
" Our frailty can sustain, thy tidings bring,
" Departure from this happy place, our sweet
" Recess, and only consolation left
" Familiar to our eyes! All places else
" Inhospitable appear, and desolate;
" Nor knowing us, nor known: and, if by prayer
" Incessant I could hope to change the will
" Of him who all things can, I would not cease
" To weary him with my assiduous cries:
" But prayer against his absolute decree
" No more avails than breath against the wind,
" Blown stifling back on him that breathes it forth:
" Therefore to his great bidding I submit.
" This most afflicts me, that, departing hence,
" As from his face I shall be hid, depriv'd
" His blessed countenance: here I could frequent
" With worship place by place where he vouchsaf'd
" Presence Divine; and to my sons relate,
" ' On this mount he appear'd—under this tree
" ' Stood visible—among these pines his voice
" ' I heard—here with him at this fountain talk'd:'
" So many grateful altars I would rear
" Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
" Of lustre from the brook, in memory

" Or monument to ages; and thereon
" Offer sweet-smelling gums, and fruits, and flowers.
" In yonder nether world where shall I seek
" His bright appearances, or foot-step trace?
" For though I fled him angry, yet, recall'd
" To life prolong'd and promis'd race, I now
" Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
" Of glory; and far off his steps adore."
To whom thus Michael with regard benign:
" Adam! thou knowest heaven his, and all the earth,
" Not this rock only; his omnipresence fills
" Land, sea, and air, and ev'ry kind that lives,
" Fomented by his virtual power, and warm'd.
" All the earth he gave thee to possess, and rule,
" No despicable gift! surmise not then
" His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd
" Of Paradise, or Eden: this had been
" Perhaps thy capital seat; from whence had spread
" All generations, and had hither come
" From all the ends of the earth, to celebrate
" And reverence thee, their great progenitor.
" But this pre-eminence thou hast lost; brought down
" To dwell on even ground now with thy sons.
" Yet doubt not but in valley, and in plain,
" God is, as here, and will be found alike
" Present; and of his presence many a sign
" Still following thee, still compassing thee round
" With goodness and paternal love, his face
" Express, and of his steps the track divine.
" Which that thou mayst believe, and be confirm'd
" Ere thou from hence depart, know, I am sent
" To show thee what shall come in future days
" To thee, and to thy offspring: good with bad
" Expect to hear; supernal grace contending
" With sinfulness of men; thereby to learn
" True patience, and to temper joy with fear
" And pious sorrow; equally inured
" By moderation either state to bear,

" Prosperous or advérse: so shalt thou lead
" Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure
" Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend
" This hill: let Eve (for I have drench'd her eyes)
" Here sleep below, while thou to foresight wak'st;
" As once thou slep'st, while she to life was form'd."
To whom thus Adam gratefully replied:
" Ascend; I follow thee, safe guide! the path
" Thou lead'st me; and to the hand of Heaven submit,
" However chastening; to the evil turn
" My obvious breast; arming to overcome
" By suffering, and earn rest from labour won,
" If so I may attain."
So both ascend,
In the visions of God. It was a hill,
Of Paradise the highest; from whose top
The hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken,
Stretch'd out to the amplest reach of prospect lay.
Not higher that hill, nor wider looking round,
Whereon, for different cause, the tempter set
Our second Adam, in the wilderness,
To show him all earth's kingdoms, and their glory.
His eye might there command wherever stood
City, of old or modern fame; the seat
Of mightiest empire, from the destin'd walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
To Paquin of Sinæan kings; and thence
To Agra and Lahor of Great Mogul,
Down to the golden Chersonese; or where
The Persian in Ecbatan sat, or since
In Hispahan; or where the Russian Kzar
In Mosco; or the Sultan in Bizance,
Turchestan-born: nor could his eye not ken
Th' empire of Negus, to his utmost port
Ercoco, and the less maritime kings
Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm

Of Congo, and Angola, farthest south;
Or thence, from Niger flood to Atlas mount,
The kingdoms of Almansor, Fez, and Sus,
Morocco, and Algiers, and Tremisen;
On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
The world: in spirit perhaps he also saw
Rich Mexico, the seat of Montezume,
And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
Of Atabalipa; and yet unspoil'd
Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons
Call El Dorado. But to nobler sights
Michael from Adam's eyes the film remov'd,
Which that false fruit that promis'd clearer sight
Had bred; then purg'd with euphrasy and rue
The visual nerve, for he had much to see,
And from the well of life three drops instill'd.
So deep the power of these ingredients pierc'd,
Even to the inmost seat of mental sight,
That Adam, now enforc'd to close his eyes,
Sunk down, and all his spirits became entranc'd;
But him the gentle angel by the hand
Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd:
" Adam, now ope thine eyes; and first behold
" The effects, which thy original crime hath wrought
" In some to spring from thee; who never touch'd
" The excepted tree; nor with the snake conspir'd;
" Nor sinn'd thy sin; yet from that sin derive
" Corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds."
His eyes he open'd, and beheld a field,
Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves
New-reaped; the other part sheep-walks and folds;
I' the midst an altar as the land-mark stood,
Rustic, of grassy sward: thither anon
A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought
First-fruits—the green ear, and the yellow sheaf,
Uncull'd, as came to hand: a shepherd next,
More meek, came with the firstlings of his flock,
Choicest and best; then, sacrificing, laid

The inwards and their fat, with incense strew'd,
On the cleft wood, and all due rites perform'd:
His offering soon propitious fire from heaven
Consum'd with nimble glance, and grateful steam;
The other's not, for his was not sincere;
Whereat he inly rag'd, and, as they talk'd,
Smote him into the midriff with a stone
That beat out life: he fell; and, deadly pale,
Groan'd out his soul, with gushing blood effus'd!
Much at that sight was Adam in his heart
Dismay'd, and thus in haste to the angel cried:
"O teacher! some great mischief hath befall'n
"To that meek man, who well had sacrific'd:
"Is piety thus, and pure devotion, paid?"
To whom Michael thus, he also mov'd, replied:
"These two are brethren, Adam, and to come
"Out of thy loins: the unjust the just hath slain,
"For envy that his brother's offering found
"From heaven acceptance; but the bloody fact
"Will be aveng'd; and the other's faith, approv'd,
"Lose no reward; though here thou see him die,
"Rolling in dust and gore."
To which our sire:
"Alas! both for the deed, and for the cause!
"But have I now seen Death? Is this the way
"I must return to native dust? O sight
"Of terror, foul and ugly to behold!
"Horrid to think! how horrible to feel!"
To whom thus Michaël: "Death thou hast seen
"In his first shape on man: but many shapes
"Of death, and many are the ways that lead
"To his grim cave; all dismal! yet to sense
"More terrible at the entrance, than within.
"Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die;
"By fire, flood, famine; by intemp'rance more
"In meats and drinks, which on the earth shall bring
"Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
"Before thee shall appear, that thou mayst know

" What misery the inabstinence of Eve
" Shall bring on men."
Immediately a place
Before his eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark;
A lazar-house it seem'd; wherein were laid
Numbers of all diseas'd; all maladies
Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
Intestine stone, and ulcer, colic pangs,
Demoniac phrensy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.
Dire was the tossing, deep the groans! Despair
Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invok'd
With vows, as their chief good, and final hope.
Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
Dry-eyed behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born; compassion quell'd
His best of man, and gave him up to tears
A space, till firmer thoughts restrain'd excess;
And, scarce recovering words, his plaint renew'd:
" O miserable mankind! to what fall
" Degraded—to what wretched state reserv'd!
" Better end here unborn. Why is life given
" To be thus wrested from us? rather, why
" Obtruded on us thus? who, if we knew
" What we receive, would either not accept
" Life offer'd, or, soon beg to lay it down;
" Glad to be so dismiss'd in peace. Can thus
" The image of God in man, created once
" So goodly and erect, though faulty since,
" To such unsightly sufferings be debas'd
" Under inhuman pains? Why should not man,
" Retaining still divine similitude

" In part, from such deformities be free,
" And, for his Maker's image' sake, exempt?"
" Their Maker's image," answer'd Michael, " then
" Forsook them, when themselves they vilified
" To serve ungovern'd appetite; and took
" His image whom they served—a brutish vice;
" Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve.
" Therefore so abject is their punishment,
" Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own;
" Or if his likeness, by themselves defac'd,
" While they pervert pure nature's healthful rules
" To loathsome sickness; worthily, since they
" God's image did not reverence in themselves."
" I yield it just," said Adam, " and submit.
" But is there yet no other way, besides
" These painful passages, how we may come
" To death, and mix with our connatural dust?"
" There is," said Michael, " if thou well observe
" The rule of 'Not too much;' by temperance taught,
" In what thou eat'st and drink'st; seeking from thence
" Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
" Till many years over thy head return:
" So mayst thou live; till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
" Into thy mother's lap; or be with ease
" Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, for death mature.
" This is Old Age; but then, thou must outlive
" Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
" To wither'd, weak, and gray; thy senses, then
" Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forego,
" To what thou hast; and, for the air of youth
" Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
" A melancholy damp of cold and dry,
" To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume
" The balm of life."
To whom our ancestor:
" Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
" Life much; bent rather, how I may be quit,
" Fairest and easiest, of this cumbrous charge;

" Which I must keep till my appointed day
" Of rendering up, and patiently attend
" My dissolution."
Michael replied:
" Nor love thy life, nor hate; but, what thou liv'st,
" Live well; how long, or short, permit to Heaven:
" And now prepare thee for another sight."
He look'd, and saw a spacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hues: by some, were herds
Of cattle grazing: others, whence the sound
Of instruments, that made melodious chime,
Was heard, of harp and organ; and who mov'd
Their stops and chords was seen; his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions, low and high,
Fled, and pursued transverse the resonant fugue.
In other part, stood one who, at the forge
Labouring, two massy clods of iron and brass
Had melted, (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods on mountain, or in vale,
Down to the veins of earth; thence gliding hot
To some cave's mouth; or whether wash'd by stream
From under ground;) the liquid ore he drain'd
Into fit moulds prepar'd; from which he form'd
First his own tools; then, what might else be wrought
Fusil, or grav'n in metal. After these,
But on the hither side, a different sort
From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat,
Down to the plain descended; by their guise
Just men they seem'd, and all their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid; nor those things last, which might preserve
Freedom, and peace to men: they on the plain
Long had not walk'd, when, from the tents, behold!
A bevy of fair women, richly gay
In gems and wanton dress; to the harp they sung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on:
The men, though grave, eyed them; and let their eyes
Rove without rein; till, in the amorous net

Fast caught, they lik'd; and each his liking chose:
And now of love they treat, till the evening star,
Love's harbinger, appear'd; then, all in heat,
They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke
Hymen, then first to marriage rites invok'd:
With feast and music all the tents resound.
Such happy interview, and fair event
Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flowers,
And charming symphonies, attach'd the heart
Of Adam, soon inclin'd to admit delight,
The bent of nature; which he thus express'd:
"True opener of mine eyes, prime angel blest!
"Much better seems this vision, and more hope
"Of peaceful days portends, than those two past:
"Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse;
"Here nature seems fulfill'd in all her ends."
To whom thus Michael:
"Judge not what is best
"By pleasure, though to nature seeming meet;
"Created, as thou art, to nobler end,
"Holy and pure—conformity divine.
"Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant, were the tents
"Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race
"Who slew his brother: studious they appear
"Of arts that polish life—inventors rare—
"Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
"Taught them; but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
"Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget;
"For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seem'd
"Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
"Yet empty of all good, wherein consists
"Woman's domestic honour and chief praise,
"Bred only and completed to the taste
"Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
"To dress, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye—
"To these that sober race of men, whose lives
"Religious titled them the sons of God,
"Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame,

" Ignobly—to the trains and to the smiles
" Of these fair atheists; and now swim in joy,
" Ere long to swim at large; and laugh, for which
" The world, ere long, a world of tears must weep."
To whom thus Adam, of short joy bereft:
" O pity and shame, that they, who to live well
" Enter'd so fair, should turn aside to tread
" Paths indirect, or in the midway faint!
" But still I see the tenour of man's woe
" Holds on the same—from woman to begin."
" From man's effeminate slackness it begins,"
Said the angel; " who should better hold his place
" By wisdom, and superior gifts receiv'd.
" But now prepare thee for another scene."
He look'd, and saw wide territory spread
Before him—towns, and rural works between—
Cities of men with lofty gates and towers—
Concourse in arms—fierce faces threat'ning war—
Giants of mighty bone, and bold emprise:
Part wield their arms—part curb the foaming steed—
Single, or in array of battle rang'd,
Both horse and foot; nor idly must'ring stood:
One way a band select from forage drives
A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine,
From a fat meadow-ground; or fleecy flock,
Ewes and their bleating lambs, over the plain,
Their booty; scarce with life the shepherds fly,
But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray:
With cruel tournament the squadrons join;
Where cattle pastur'd late, now scatter'd lies
With carcasses and arms the ensanguin'd field,
Deserted. Others to a city strong
Lay siege, encamp'd—by batt'ry, scale, and mine,
Assaulting: others from the wall defend,
With dart and javelin, stones, and sulph'rous fire:
On each hand slaughter, and gigantic deeds!
In other part the sceptred heralds call
To council, in the city-gates: anon

Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mix'd,
Assemble, and harangues are heard; but soon,
In factious opposition; till at last
Of middle age one rising, eminent
In wise deport, spake much of right and wrong,
Of justice, of religion, truth, and peace,
And judgment from above: him old and young
Exploded, and had seiz'd with violent hands;
Had not a cloud descending snatch'd him thence,
Unseen amid the throng: so violence
Proceeded, and oppression, and sword-law,
Through all the plain; and refuge none was found.
Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
Lamenting turn'd full sad:
" O, what are these?
" Death's ministers, not men! who thus deal death
" Inhumanly to men, and multiply
" Ten thousandfold the sin of him who slew
" His brother; for of whom such massacre
" Make they, but of their brethren—men of men?
" But who was that just man, whom had not Heaven
" Rescued, had in his righteousness been lost?"
To whom thus Michael:
" These are the product
" Of those ill-mated marriages thou saw'st;
" Where good with bad were match'd, who of themselves
" Abhor to join; and, by imprudence mix'd,
" Produce prodigious births of body or mind.
" Such were these giants, men of high renown;
" For in those days might only shall be admir'd,
" And valour and heroic virtue call'd:
" To overcome in battle, and subdue
" Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
" Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
" Of human glory; and for glory done
" Of triumph, to be styl'd great conquerors,
" Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods—
" Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men!

" Thus fame shall be achiev'd, renown on earth;
" And what most merits fame in silence hid.
" But he—the seventh from thee—whom thou beheld'st
" The only righteous in a world perverse,
" And therefore hated, therefore so beset
" With foes, for daring single to be just,
" And utter odious truth that God would come
" To judge them with his saints—him the Most High,
" Rapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds,
" Did, as thou saw'st, receive, to walk with God
" High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
" Exempt from death—to show thee what reward
" Awaits the good, the rest what punishment;
" Which now direct thine eyes, and soon behold."
He look'd, and saw the face of things quite chang'd:
The brazen throat of war had ceas'd to roar:
All now was turn'd to jollity and game,
To luxury and riot, feast and dance—
Marrying or prostituting, as befel—
Rape or adultery, where passing fair
Allur'd them; thence from cups to civil broils.
At length a rev'rend sire among them came,
And of their doings great dislike declar'd,
And testified against their ways: he oft
Frequented their assemblies, whereso met—
Triumphs, or festivals; and to them preach'd
Conversion and repentance, as to souls
In prison, under judgment imminent;
But all in vain! Which when he saw, he ceas'd
Contending, and remov'd his tents far off:
Then, from the mountain hewing timber tall,
Began to build a vessel of huge bulk,
Measur'd by cubit, length, and breadth, and height;
Smear'd round with pitch; and in the side a door
Contriv'd; and of provisions laid in large,
For man and beast: when lo, a wonder strange!
Of every beast, and bird, and insect small,
Came sevens, and pairs; and enter'd in as taught

Their order: last the sire, and his three sons
With their four wives: and God made fast the door.
Meanwhile the south-wind rose, and, with black wings
Wide hov'ring, all the clouds together drove
From under heaven: the hills, to their supply,
Vapour and exhalation, dusk and moist,
Sent up amain. And now the thicken'd sky
Like a dark ceiling stood: down rush'd the rain
Impetuous; and continued, till the earth
No more was seen: the floating vessel swum
Uplifted, and secure with beaked prow
Rode tilting o'er the waves: all dwellings else
Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all their pomp
Deep under water roll'd: sea covered sea—
Sea without shore: and in their palaces,
Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
And stabled: of mankind (so num'rous late)
All left, in one small bottom swum embark'd.
How didst thou grieve then, Adam! to behold
The end of all thy offspring; end so sad—
Depopulation! Thee another flood—
Of tears and sorrow a flood—thee also drown'd,
And sunk thee as thy sons; till, gently rear'd
By th' angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last,
Though comfortless; as when a father mourns
His children, all in view destroy'd at once;
And scarce to th' angel utter'd'st thus thy plaint:
"O visions ill foreseen! Better had I
"Liv'd ignorant of future! so had borne
"My part of evil only—each day's lot
"Enough to bear: those now, that were dispens'd
"The burden of many ages, on me light
"At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
"Abortive, to torment me, ere their being,
"With thought that they must be. Let no man seek
"Henceforth to be foretold what shall befal
"Him or his children—evil he may be sure,
"Which neither his foreknowing can prevent;

" And he the future evil shall, no less
" In apprehension than in substance, feel,
" Grievous to bear. But that care now is past;
" Man is not whom to warn: those few escap'd
" Famine and anguish will at last consume,
" Wandering that watery desert. I had hope,
" When violence was ceas'd and war on earth,
" All would have then gone well—peace would have crown'd
" With length of happy days the race of man;
" But I was far deceiv'd; for now I see
" Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste.
" How comes it thus? unfold, celestial guide!
" And whether here the race of man will end."
To whom thus Michael:
" Those, whom last thou saw'st
" In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
" First seen in acts of prowess eminent,
" And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
" Who, having spilt much blood, and done much waste,
" Subduing nations, and achiev'd thereby
" Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
" Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
" Surfeit, and lust; till wantonness and pride
" Raise out of friendship hostile deeds in peace.
" The conquer'd also, and enslav'd by war,
" Shall, with their freedom lost, all virtue lose,
" And fear of God; from whom their piety feign'd
" In sharp contést of battle found no aid
" Against invaders; therefore, cool'd in zeal,
" Thenceforth shall practise how to live secure,
" Worldly or dissolute, on what their lords
" Shall leave them to enjoy; for the earth shall bear
" More than enough, that temp'rance may be tried:
" So all shall turn degen'rate—all deprav'd,
" (Justice and temp'rance, truth and faith, forgot,)
" One man except, the only son of light
" In a dark age—against example good—
" Against allurement, custom, and a world

" Offended: fearless of reproach and scorn,
" Or violence, he of their wicked ways
" Shall them admonish; and before them set
" The paths of righteousness, how much more safe
" And full of peace; denouncing wrath to come
" On their impenitence; and shall return
" Of them derided, but of God observ'd
" The one just man alive; by his command
" Shall build a wondrous ark, as thou beheld'st,
" To save himself and household from amidst
" A world devote to universal wrack.
" No sooner he, with them of man and beast
" Select for life, shall in the ark be lodg'd
" And shelter'd round, but all the cataracts
" Of heaven, set open, on the earth shall pour
" Rain, day and night: all fountains of the deep,
" Broke up, shall heave the ocean to usurp
" Beyond all bounds; till inundation rise
" Above the highest hills: then shall this mount
" Of Paradise, by might of waves, be mov'd
" Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
" With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees adrift,
" Down the great river to the opening gulf,
" And there take root—an island salt and bare,
" The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews' clang;
" To teach thee that God attributes to place
" No sanctity, if none be thither brought
" By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
" And now what further shall ensue, behold."
He look'd, and saw the ark hull on the flood,
Which now abated; for the clouds were fled,
Driv'n by a keen north-wind, that, blowing dry,
Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decay'd;
And the clear sun on his wide wat'ry glass
Gaz'd hot, and of the fresh wave largely drew,
As after thirst; which made their flowing shrink
From standing lake to tripping ebb, that stole
With soft foot towards the deep, who now had stopp'd

His sluices, as the heaven his windows shut.
The ark no more now floats, but seems on ground,
Fast on the top of some high mountain fix'd.
And now the tops of hills, as rocks, appear:
With clamour thence the rapid currents drive,
Towards the retreating sea, their furious tide.
Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies,
And after him, the surer messenger,
A dove, sent forth once, and again, to spy
Green tree or ground whereon his foot may light:
The second time returning, in his bill
An olive-leaf he brings—pacific sign!
Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
The ancient sire descends with all his train:
Then, with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
Grateful to Heav'n, over his head beholds
A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow
Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,
Betok'ning peace from God, and cov'nant new.
Whereat the heart of Adam, erst so sad,
Greatly rejoic'd; and thus his joy broke forth:
" O thou, who future things canst represent
" As present, heavenly instructor! I revive
" At this last sight, assur'd that man shall live,
" With all the creatures, and their seed preserve.
" Far less I now lament for one whole world
" Of wicked sons destroy'd, than I rejoice
" For one man found so perfect, and so just,
" That God vouchsafes to raise another world
" From him, and all his anger to forget.
" But say, what mean those colour'd streaks in heaven,
" Distended as the brow of God appeas'd?
" Or serve they, as a flowery verge, to bind
" The fluid skirts of that same wat'ry cloud,
" Lest it again dissolve, and shower the earth?"
To whom the archangel:
" Dext'rously thou aim'st:
" So willingly doth God remit his ire,

" Though late repenting him of man deprav'd—
" Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
" The whole earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
" Corrupting each their way; yet, those remov'd,
" Such grace shall one just man find in his sight,
" That he relents, not to blot out mankind;
" And makes a cov'nant, never to destroy
" The earth again by flood; nor let the sea
" Surpass his bounds; nor rain to drown the world,
" With man therein, or beast: but when he brings
" Over the earth a cloud, will therein set
" His triple-coloured bow, whereon to look,
" And call to mind his cov'nant. Day and night,
" Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost,
" Shall hold their course; till fire purge all things new,
" Both heaven and earth, wherein the just shall dwell."

BOOK XII.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE angel Michael continues, from the flood, to relate what shall succeed: then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that seed of the woman shall be, which was promised Adam and Eve in the fall: his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension: the state of the church till his second coming. Adam, greatly satisfied and recomforted by these relations and promises, descends the hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams composed to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their stations to guard the place.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK XII.

As one who in his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on speed; so here the archangel paus'd,
Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose:
Then, with transition sweet, new speech resumes:
" Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end;
" And man, as from a second stock, proceed.
" Much thou hast yet to see; but I perceive
" Thy mortal sight to fail: objects divine
" Must needs impair and weary human sense:
" Henceforth what is to come I will relate;
" Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
" This second source of men, while yet but few,
" And while the dread of judgment past remains
" Fresh in their minds, fearing the Deity,
" With some regard to what is just and right
" Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace,
" Lab'ring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,
" Corn, wine, and oil; and, from the herd or flock
" Oft sacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid,
" With large wine offerings pour'd, and sacred feast,
" Shall spend their days in joy unblam'd; and dwell

" Long time in peace, by families and tribes,
" Under paternal rule; till one shall rise
" Of proud ambitious heart, who, not content
" With fair equality, fraternal state,
" Will arrogate dominion undeserv'd
" Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
" Concord and law of nature from the earth;
" Hunting (and men, not beasts, shall be his game)
" With war, and hostile snare, such as refuse
" Subjection to his empire tyrannous:
" A mighty hunter thence he shall be styl'd
" Before the Lord; as in despite of heaven,
" Or from heaven, claiming second sov'reignty;
" And from rebellion shall derive his name,
" Though of rebellion others he accuse.
" He with a crew (whom like ambition joins
" With him or under him to tyrannize,)
" Marching from Eden tow'rds the west, shall find
" The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
" Boils out from underground—the mouth of hell.
" Of brick, and of that stuff, they cast to build
" A city, and tower whose top may reach to heaven,
" And get themselves a name; lest, far dispers'd
" In foreign lands, their memory be lost;
" Regardless whether good or evil fame.
" But God, who oft descends to visit men
" Unseen, and through their habitations walks
" To mark their doings, them beholding soon,
" Comes down to see their city, ere the tower
" Obstruct heaven-towers; and in derision sets
" Upon their tongues a various spirit, to rase
" Quite out their native language; and, instead,
" To sow a jangling noise of words unknown.
" Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud,
" Among the builders; each to other calls
" Not understood; till hoarse, and all in rage,
" As mock'd they storm: great laughter was in heaven,
" And looking down, to see the hubbub strange,

" And hear the din: thus was the building left
" Ridiculous, and the work 'Confusion' nam'd."
Whereto thus Adam, fatherly displeas'd:
" O execrable son! so to aspire
" Above his brethren; to himself assuming
" Authority usurp'd, from God not given:
" He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
" Dominion absolute; that right we hold
" By his donation: but man over men
" He made not lord; such title to himself
" Reserving, human left from human free.
" But this usurper his encroachment proud
" Stays not on man; to God his tower intends
" Siege and defiance. Wretched man! what food
" Will he convey up thither, to sustain
" Himself, and his rash army; where thin air
" Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
" And famish him of breath, if not of bread?"
To whom thus Michael:
" Justly thou abhorr'st
" That son, who on the quiet state of men
" Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
" Rational liberty; yet know withal,
" Since thy original lapse, true liberty
" Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
" Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:
" Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,
" Immediately inordinate desires,
" And upstart passions, catch the government
" From reason; and to servitude reduce
" Man, till then free. Therefore, since he permits
" Within himself unworthy powers to reign
" Over free reason, God, in judgment just,
" Subjects him from without to violent lords;
" Who oft as undeservedly enthral
" His outward freedom: tyranny must be;
" Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.
" Yet sometimes nations will decline so low

" From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
" But justice and some fatal curse annex'd,
" Deprives them of their outward liberty;
" Their inward lost: witness the irreverent son
" Of him who built the ark; who, for the shame
" Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,
" 'Servant of servants,' on his vicious race.
" Thus will this latter, as the former world,
" Still tend from bad to worse; till God at last,
" Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
" His presence from among them, and avert
" His holy eyes; resolving from thenceforth
" To leave them to their own polluted ways;
" And one peculiar nation to select
" From all the rest, of whom to be invok'd—
" A nation from one faithful man to spring.
" Him, on this side Euphrates yet residing,
" Bred up in idol-worship—(O, that men—
" Canst thou believe ?—should be so stupid grown,
" While yet the patriarch lived who 'scap'd the flood,
" As to forsake the living God, and fall
" To worship their own work in wood and stone
" For gods!)—yet him God the Most High vouchsafes
" To call by vision, from his father's house,
" His kindred, and false gods, into a land
" Which He will show him, and from him will raise
" A mighty nation; and upon him shower
" His benediction so, that in his seed
" All nations shall be blest: he straight obeys—
" Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes.
" I see him, (but thou canst not,) with what faith
" He leaves his gods, his friends, and native soil,
" Ur of Chaldæa, passing now the ford
" To Haran; after him a cumb'rous train
" Of herds, and flocks, and numerous servitude;
" Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
" With God, who call'd him in a land unknown.
" Canaan he now attains: I see his tents

" Pitched about Sichem, and the neighb'ring plain
" Of Moreh; there, by promise, he receives
" Gift to his progeny of all that land,
" From Hamath northward to the desert south;
" (Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd,)
" From Hermon east to the great western sea;
" Mount Hermon, yonder sea; each place behold
" In prospect, as I point them; on the shore
" Mount Carmel; here, the double-founted stream,
" Jordan, true limit eastward: but his sons
" Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of hills.
" This ponder, that all nations of the earth
" Shall in his seed be bless'd: by that seed
" Is meant thy great Deliv'rer, who shall bruise
" The serpent's head; whereof to thee anon
" Plainlier shall be reveal'd. This patriarch blest,
" Whom faithful Abraham due time shall call,
" A son, and of his son a grand-child, leaves;
" Like him in faith, and wisdom, and renown.
" The grand-child, with twelve sons increas'd, departs
" From Canaan, to a land hereafter call'd
" Egypt, divided by the river Nile:
" See where it flows, disgorging at seven mouths
" Into the sea. To sojourn in that land
" He comes, invited by a younger son
" In time of dearth; a son, whose worthy deeds
" Raise him to be the second in that realm
" Of Pharaoh: there he dies, and leaves his race
" Growing into a nation; and, now grown,
" Suspected to a sequent king, who seeks
" To stop their over-growth, as inmate guests
" Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them slaves
" Inhospitably; and kills their infant males;
" Till by two brethren (these two brethren call
" Moses, and Aaron) sent from God to claim
" His people from enthralment, they return
" With glory, and spoil, back to the promis'd land.
" But first the lawless tyrant, who denies

" To know their God, or message to regard,
" Must be compelled by signs, and judgments dire;
" To blood unshed the rivers must be turn'd;
" Frogs, lice, and flies, must all his palace fill
" With loath'd intrusion, and fill all the land;
" His cattle must of rot and murrain die;
" Botches and blains must all his flesh emboss,
" And all his people; thunder mix'd with hail,
" Hail mix'd with fire, must rend the Egyptian sky,
" And wheel on th' earth, devouring where it rolls;
" What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,
" A darksome cloud of locusts swarming down
" Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green;
" Darkness must overshadow all his bounds—
" Palpable darkness, and blot out three days;
" Last, with one midnight-stroke, all the first-born
" Of Egypt must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
" The river-dragon tam'd at length submits
" To let his sojourners depart, and oft
" Humbles his stubborn heart, but still, as ice
" More harden'd after thaw; till in his rage
" Pursuing whom he late dismiss'd, the sea
" Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass,
" As on dry land, between two crystal walls,
" Awed by the rod of Moses so to stand
" Divided, till his rescued gain their shore:
" Such wondrous power God to his saint will lend,
" Though present in his angel, who shall go
" Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire—
" By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire,
" To guide them in their journey, and remove
" Behind them, while the obdurate king pursues.
" All night he will pursue; but his approach
" Darkness defends between, till morning watch;
" Then through the fiery pillar, and the cloud,
" God looking forth will trouble all his host,
" And craze their chariot-wheels: when, by command,
" Moses once more his potent rod extends

" Over the sea, the sea his rod obeys;
" On their embattled ranks the waves return,
" And overwhelm their war. The race elect,
" Safe towards Canaan, from the shore advance
" Through the wild desert, not the readiest way,
" Lest, ent'ring on the Canaanite alarm'd,
" War terrify them inexpert, and fear
" Return them back to Egypt, choosing rather
" Inglorious life with servitude; for life
" To noble, and ignoble, is more sweet
" Untrain'd in arms, where rashness leads not on.
" This also shall they gain by their delay
" In the wide wilderness—there they shall found
" Their government, and their great senate choose
" Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordain'd.
" God from the mount of Sinai, (whose gray top
" Shall tremble, He descending,) will himself
" In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpets' sound,
" Ordain them laws—part, such as appertain
" To civil justice—part, religious rites
" Of sacrifice; informing them, by types
" And shadows, of that destin'd Seed to bruise
" The serpent, by what means he shall achieve
" Mankind's deliv'rance: but the voice of God
" To mortal ear is dreadful; they beseech
" That Moses might report to them his will,
" And terror cease: he grants what they besought;
" Instructed that to God is no access
" Without Mediator, whose high office now
" Moses in figure bears, to introduce
" One greater, of whose day he shall fortel;
" And all the prophets in their age the times
" Of great Messiah shall sing. Thus laws and rites
" Establish'd, such delight hath God in men
" Obedient to his will, that He vouchsafes
" Among them to set up his tabernacle—
" The Holy One with mortal men to dwell.
" By his prescript a sanctuary is fram'd

"Of cedar, overlaid with gold; therein
"An ark, and in the ark his testimony,
"The records of his covenant; over these
"A mercy-seat of gold, between the wings
"Of two bright Cherubim: before him burn
"Seven lamps, as in a zodiac representing
"The heavenly fires; over the tent a cloud
"Shall rest by day, a fiery gleam by night,
"Save when they journey: and at length they come,
"Conducted by his angel, to the land
"Promis'd to Abraham and his seed. The rest
"Were long to tell; how many battles fought;
"How many kings destroy'd, and kingdoms won;
"Or how the sun shall in mid heaven stand still
"A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,
"Man's voice commanding, 'Sun, in Gibeon stand,
"'And thou, moon, in the vale of Aialon,
"'Till Israel overcome!' so call the third
"From Abraham, son of Isaac; and from him
"His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win."
Here Adam interpos'd:
"O sent from Heaven,
"Enlight'ner of my darkness! gracious things
"Thou hast reveal'd; those chiefly, which concern
"Just Abraham and his seed: now first I find
"Mine eyes true-op'ning, and my heart much eas'd,
"Erewhile perplex'd with thoughts, what would become
"Of me and all mankind; but now I see
"His day in whom all nations shall be blest;
"Favour unmerited by me, who sought
"Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.
"This yet I apprehend not, why to those
"Among whom God will deign to dwell on earth,
"So many and so various laws are given:
"So many laws argue so many sins
"Among them; how can God with such reside?"
To whom thus Michael:

" Doubt not but that sin
" Will reign among them, as of thee begot;
" And therefore was law given them, to evince
" Their natural pravity, by stirring up
" Sin against law to fight; that when they see
" Law can discover sin, but not remove,
" Save by those shadowy expiations weak,
" The blood of bulls and goats, they may conclude
" Some blood more precious must be paid for man—
" Just for unjust; that, in such righteousness
" To them by faith imputed, they may find
" Justification towards God, and peace
" Of conscience, which the law by ceremonies
" Cannot appease; nor man the moral part
" Perform, and not performing, cannot live.
" So law appears imperfect; and but given
" With purpose to resign them, in full time,
" Up to a better covenant; disciplin'd
" From shadowy types to truth—from flesh to spirit—
" From imposition of strict laws, to free
" Acceptance of large grace—from servile fear
" To filial—works of law to works of faith.
" And therefore shall not Moses, though of God
" Highly belov'd, being but the minister
" Of law, his people into Canaan lead;
" But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call,
" His name and office bearing, who shall quell
" The adversary-serpent, and bring back,
" Through the world's wilderness, long wander'd man
" Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.
" Meanwhile they, in their earthly Canaan plac'd,
" Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
" National interrupt their public peace,
" Provoking God to raise them enemies;
" From whom as oft he saves them penitent,
" By judges first, then under kings; of whom
" The second, both for piety renown'd
" And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive

" Irrevocable, that his regal throne
" For ever shall endure; the like shall sing
" All prophecy, that of the royal stock
" Of David (so I name this king) shall rise
" A son—the woman's seed to thee foretold—
" Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
" All nations; and to kings foretold, of kings
" The last; for of his reign shall be no end.
" But first, a long succession must ensue:
" And his next son, for wealth and wisdom fam'd,
" The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
" Wand'ring, shall in a glorious temple enshrine.
" Such follow him as shall be register'd,
" Part good, part bad; of bad the longer scroll;
" Whose foul idolatries, and other faults,
" Heap'd to the popular sum, will so incense
" God, as to leave them, and expose their land,
" Their city, his temple, and his holy ark,
" With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
" To that proud city, whose high walls thou saw'st
" Left in confusion—Babylon thence call'd.
" There in captivity He lets them dwell
" The space of seventy years; then brings them back,
" Remembering mercy, and his covenant sworn
" To David, 'stablished as the days of heav'n.
" Return'd from Babylon by leave of kings
" Their lords, whom God dispos'd, the house of God
" They first re-edify; and for a while
" In mean estate live moderate, till, grown
" In wealth and multitude, factious they grow.
" But first among the priests dissension springs—
" Men who attend the altar, and should most
" Endeavour peace: their strife pollution brings
" Upon the temple itself: at last they seize
" The sceptre, and regard not David's sons;
" Then lose it to a stranger, that the true
" Anointed king Messiah might be born
" Barr'd of his right: yet at his birth a star,

" Unseen before in heaven, proclaims him come;
" And guides the eastern sages, who inquire
" His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold:
" His place of birth a solemn angel tells
" To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;
" They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
" Of squadron'd angels hear his carol sung.
" A virgin is his mother; but his sire
" The Power of the Most High: he shall ascend
" The throne hereditary, and bound his reign
" With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the heavens!"
He ceas'd, discerning Adam with such joy
Surcharg'd, as had like grief been dew'd in tears,
Without the vent of words; which these he breath'd:
" O prophet of glad tidings, finisher
" Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
" (What oft my steadiest thoughts have search'd in vain)
" Why our great Expectation should be call'd
" The seed of woman. Virgin mother, hail!
" High in the love of heaven! Yet from my loins
" Thou shalt proceed, and from thy womb the Son
" Of God Most High; so God with man unites.
" Needs must the serpent now his capital bruise
" Expect with mortal pain: say, where and when
" Their fight—what stroke shall bruise the victor's heel?"
To whom thus Michael:
" Dream not of their fight
" As of a duel, or the local wounds
" Of head or heel: not therefore joins the Son
" Manhood to godhead, with more strength to foil
" Thy enemy; nor so is overcome
" Satan, whose fall from heaven (a deadlier bruise)
" Disabled not to give thee thy death's wound;
" Which he, who comes thy Saviour, shall re-cure,
" Not by destroying Satan, but his works
" In thee and in thy seed: nor can this be
" But by fulfilling that which thou didst want—
" Obedience to the law of God, impos'd

" On penalty of death, and suff'ring death—
" The penalty to thy transgression due,
" And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:
" So only can high justice rest appaid.
" The law of God exact he shall fulfil
" Both by obedience, and by love; though love
" Alone fulfil the law: thy punishment
" He shall endure, by coming in the flesh
" To a reproachful life, and cursed death;
" Proclaiming life to all who shall believe
" In his redemption; and that his obedience,
" Imputed, becomes theirs by faith; his merits
" To save them, not their own (though legal) works.
" For this he shall live hated; be blasphem'd;
" Seiz'd on by force; judg'd, and to death condemn'd—
" A shameful and accurs'd! nail'd to the cross
" By his own nation; slain for bringing life;
" But to the cross he nails thy enemies—
" The law that is against thee, and the sins
" Of all mankind with him there crucified,
" Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
" In this his satisfaction. So he dies,
" But soon revives; death over him no power
" Shall long usurp: ere the third dawning light
" Return, the stars of morn shall see him rise
" Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
" Thy ransom paid, which man from death redeems,
" His death for man—as many as offer'd life
" Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
" By faith not void of works. This god-like act
" Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have died,
" In sin for ever lost from life: this act
" Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength,
" Defeating sin and death, his two main arms;
" And fix far deeper in his head their stings
" Than temporal death shall bruise the victor's heel,
" Or theirs whom he redeems—a death, like sleep—
" A gentle wafting to immortal life:

" Nor after resurrection shall he stay
" Longer on earth, than certain times to appear
" To his disciples, men who in his life
" Still follow'd him; to them shall leave in charge
" To teach all nations what of him they learn'd,
" And his salvation, them who shall believe
" Baptizing in the profluent stream—the sign
" Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
" Pure, and in mind prepared, if so befal,
" For death, like that which the Redeemer died.
" All nations they shall teach; for, from that day,
" Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
" Salvation shall be preach'd, but to the sons
" Of Abraham's faith, wherever through the world:
" So in his seed all nations shall be blest.
" Then to the heaven of heavens he shall ascend
" With victory, triúmphing through the air
" Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise
" The serpent, prince of air, and drag in chains
" Through all his realm, and there confounded leave;
" Then enter into glory, and resume
" His seat at God's right hand, exalted high
" Above all names in heaven; and thence shall come,
" When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
" With glory and power to judge both quick and dead—
" To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward
" His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
" Whether in heaven, or earth; for then the earth
" Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
" Than this of Eden, and far happier days!"
So spake th' archangel Michaël; then paus'd,
As at the world's great period: and our sire,
Replete with joy and wonder, thus replied:
" O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense!
" That all this good of evil shall produce,
" And evil turn to good; more wonderful
" Than that which by creation first brought forth
" Light out of darkness! Full of doubt I stand,

" Whether I should repent me now of sin,
" By me done, and occasion'd; or rejoice
" Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring—
" To God more glory—more good-will to men
" From God; and over wrath grace shall abound.
" But say, if our Deliv'rer up to heaven
" Must re-ascend, what will betide the few
" His faithful, left among th' unfaithful herd,
" The enemies of truth? Who then shall guide
" His people? who defend? Will they not deal
" Worse with his followers, than with him they dealt?"
" Be sure they will," said th' angel; " but from heaven
" He to his own a Comforter will send,
" The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
" His Spirit within them; and the law of faith,
" Working through love, upon their hearts shall write,
" To guide them in all truth; and also arm
" With spiritual armour, able to resist
" Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts;
" What man can do against them, not afraid,
" Though to the death; against such cruelties
" With inward consolations recompens'd,
" And oft supported so as shall amaze
" Their proudest persecutors; for the Spirit,
" Pour'd first on his apostles, whom he sends
" To evangelize the nations, then on all
" Baptiz'd, shall them with wondrous gifts endue
" To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
" As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
" Great numbers of each nation to receive
" With joy the tidings brought from heaven: at length,
" Their ministry perform'd, and race well run,
" Their doctrine and their story written left,
" They die: but in their room, as they forewarn,
" Wolves shall succeed for teachers—grievous wolves!
" Who all the sacred mysteries of heaven
" To their own vile advantages shall turn
" Of lucre and ambition; and the truth

" With superstitions and traditions taint,
" Left only in those written records pure,
" Though not but by the Spirit understood.
" Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
" Places, and titles, and with these to join
" Secular power; though feigning still to act
" By spiritual; to themselves appropriating
" The Spirit of God, promis'd alike, and given
" To all believers; and, from that pretence,
" Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
" On every conscience—laws which none shall find
" Left them enroll'd, or what the Spirit within
" Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then,
" But force the Spirit of Grace itself, and bind
" His consort Liberty? what, but unbuild
" His living temples, built by faith to stand,
" Their own faith, not another's? for, on earth,
" Who against faith and conscience can be heard
" Infallible? Yet many will presume:
" Whence heavy persecution shall arise
" On all, who in the worship persevere
" Of spirit and truth: the rest, (far greater part,)
" Will deem in outward rites and specious forms
" Religion satisfied; truth shall retire
" Bestruck with sland'rous darts, and works of faith
" Rarely be found. So shall the world go on,
" To good malignant, to bad men benign;
" Under her own weight groaning; till the day
" Appear of respiration to the just,
" And vengeance to the wicked, at return
" Of him so lately promis'd to thy aid,
" The woman's Seed; obscurely then foretold;
" Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord;
" Last, in the clouds, from heaven to be reveal'd
" In glory of the Father, to dissolve
" Satan, with his perverted world; then raise
" From the conflagrant mass, purg'd and refin'd,
" New heavens, new earth, ages of endless date,

"Founded in righteousness, and peace, and love;
"To bring forth fruits, joy, and eternal bliss!"
He ended; and thus Adam last replied:
"How soon hath thy prediction, seer blest,
"Measur'd this transient world the race of time,
"Till time stand fix'd! Beyond is all abyss—
"Eternity, whose end no eye can reach.
"Greatly instructed I shall hence depart;
"Greatly in peace of thought; and have my fill
"Of knowledge—what this vessel can contain;
"Beyond which was my folly to aspire.
"Henceforth I learn, that to obey is best,
"And love with fear the only God—to walk
"As in his presence—ever to observe
"His providence; and on him sole depend,
"Merciful over all his works, with good
"Still overcoming evil, and by small
"Accomplishing great things—by things deem'd weak
"Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
"By simply meek; that suff'ring for truth's sake
"Is fortitude to highest victory;
"And, to the faithful, death the gate of life;
"Taught this by his example, whom I now
"Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest!"
To whom thus also th' angel last replied:
"This having learn'd, thou hast attain'd the sum
"Of wisdom: hope no higher, though all the stars
"Thou knew'st by name, and all the ethereal Powers
"All secrets of the deep, all Nature's works,
"Or works of God in heaven, air, earth, or sea,
"And all the riches of this world enjoy'dst,
"And all the rule, one empire; only add
"Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith;
"Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
"By name to come call'd charity, the soul
"Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loth
"To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
"A paradise within thee, happier far.

" Let us descend now therefore from this top
" Of speculation; for the hour precise
" Exacts our parting hence: and see! the guards,
" By me encamp'd on yonder hill, expect
" Their motion; at whose front a flaming sword,
" In signal of remove, waves fiercely round.
" We may no longer stay: go, waken Eve;
" Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd
" Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
" To meek submission: thou, at season fit,
" Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard;
" Chiefly, what may concern her faith to know,
" The great deliv'rance by her seed to come
" (For by the woman's seed) on all mankind;
" That ye may live, which will be many days,
" Both in one faith unanimous, though sad
" (With cause!) for evils past; yet much more cheer'd
" With meditation on the happy end."
He ended; and they both descend the hill:
Descended, Adam to the bower, where Eve
Lay sleeping, ran before; but found her wak'd:
And thus with words not sad she him receiv'd:
" Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know;
" For God is also in sleep; and dreams advise,
" Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
" Presaging, since with sorrow and heart's distress
" Wearied I fell asleep: but now lead on:
" In me is no delay: with thee to go,
" Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,
" Is to go hence unwilling: thou to me
" Art all things under heaven, all places thou,
" Who for my wilful crime art banish'd hence.
" This further consolation yet secure
" I carry hence, though all by me is lost,
" (Such favour I unworthy am vouchsaf'd,)—
" By me the promis'd Seed shall all restore."
So spake our mother Eve: and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but answer'd not: for now, too nigh

Th' archangel stood; and from the other hill
To their fix'd station, all in bright array,
The Cherubim descended, on the ground
Gliding meteorous; as evening mist
Ris'n from a river o'er the marish glides,
And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel
Homeward returning. High in front advanc'd,
The brandish'd sword of God before them blaz'd,
Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,
And vapour as the Lybian air adust,
Began to parch that temp'rate clime: whereat
In either hand the hast'ning angel caught
Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
To the subjected plain; then disappear'd.
They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd, and fiery arms.
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon.
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.
They, hand in hand, with wand'ring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

NOTES.

NOTES.

BOOK I.

1. "Of man's first disobedience." The similarity between the opening of *Paradise Lost* and the *Iliad*, in the simplicity and unostentatious solemnity of the language, in the smooth flowing harmony of the versification, in the brief and unadorned introduction of the subject and its consequences, in the avowal of dependence on a Divine spirit for illumination, in the sudden transition from humble invocation to the inspired narrative, and then in the sudden flight into unexampled sublimity, is singularly striking. Milton, no less than Homer, comes up to Horace's just and well-known conception of an epic poet:—

"Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat."

The subject-matter of both poems, "Man's first disobedience, and the fruit of the forbidden tree," and "The wrath of Achilles," is the very first sentiment expressed. The same epithet is next applied to both acts, *mortal* or *destructive*: from each three consequences resulted; to man, *death*, *all* the woes of life, and loss of Eden; to the Greeks, *woes unnumbered*, the premature *death* of many a valiant hero, and the devouring of their bodies by dogs and birds of prey; this latter involving loss of the rights of sepulture, which for a time deprived spirits of Elysium; for the spirits of the unburied dead were supposed to wander up and down on the confines of the other world for a long period of time, without any place of rest. (I think with the old Commentators, that in προιαψε is included the idea of *premature* death, and it gives an additional picture of misfortune. "Cadat *ante diem* mediaque inhumatus arena," was the direst curse infuriated Dido could imprecate on Æneas, her betrayer.)

Μηνιν αειδε, Θεα, Πηληϊαδεω Αχιληος
Ουλομενην, ἡ μυρι' Αχαιοις αλγε' εθηκε,
Πολλας δ' ιφθιμους ψυχας αιδι προιαψεν
Ἡρωων, αυτους δ' ἑλωρια τευχε κυνεσσιν,
Οιωνοισι τε πασι. Διος δ' ετελειετο βουλη.

Yet I do not say, Milton *intended* an imitation in each instance. Milton says, "Instruct me, for thou knowest—thou from the first wast present—what in me is dark illumine." Homer has similar sentiments (Il. ii. 483):—

Εσπετε νυν μοι Μουσαι Ολυμπια δωματ' εχουσαι,
Ὑμεις γαρ Θεαι εστε, παρεστε τε, ιστε τε παντα
Ἡμεις δε κλεος οἱον ακουομεν, ουδε τι ἱδμεν.

Milton asks, "Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?" and then the heavenly Muse, who is supposed henceforward to dictate the poem, promptly replies, "The infernal spirit," &c. This resembles the questions and answers in the Iliad, as closely as the subject will admit:—

Τις τ' αρ σφωε Θεων εριδι ξυνεηκε μαχεσθαι;
Λητους και Διος υἱος, ὁ γαρ βασιλῆι χολωθεις
Νουσον ανα στρατον ωρσε κακην, ολεκοντο δε λαοι.

Milton dates man's disobedience in these words. "What time," (*i. e.* after the time that.) Thus does Homer date the wrath of Achilles by the words—

Εξ οὐ δη τα πρωτα διαστητην ερισαντε.

Homer says that it was all the will of God, Διος δ' ετελειετο βουλη. Milton says the same, (212,) that "the will and high permission of all-ruling Heaven left him (Satan) at large to his own dark designs."

4. "With loss of Eden." But Eden was not lost; and the last we read of our first parents is, that they were still in Eden—"Through Eden took their soli-

tary way."—B. xii. Loss of Eden is, therefore, only loss of Paradise, which was planted in Eden; the whole being put for a part, as a part is sometimes put for the whole, by the figure synecdoche. —(Newton.) This explanation has been adopted in the best modern editions, but, in my opinion, most improperly. Milton distinctly says Eden was lost; its loss he makes part of his subject, and this alone ought to decide the point. It is plain, from several passages in the poem, that Eden, which means "blessed seat," was the general district allotted to Adam in his state of innocence, though Paradise, which was planted in the east of it, (iv. 208,) was his immediate residence, and that it was distinguished from the rest of the earth, or the outer world; and it is also plain, from the close of the poem, that he was expelled from it, as well as from Paradise:—

"They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
Of Paradise. . . . . .
Then, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way."

Their solitary way, to what place? The poet plainly shows it was to the outer world, or part of the earth outside Eden, to which they were proceeding by the shortest route, as Paradise was in the eastern part of Eden, and they proceeded eastward:—

"The world was all before them where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

6, 7. "Secret top of Oreb." Dr. Bentley says Milton dictated "*sacred* top," because, Exod. iii. 5, Horeb is said to be *holy*, and, 1 Kings xix. 8, it is called the *Mountain of God*, and the top could be seen several leagues off, and therefore could not be called *secret*; besides, *sacred* hill is common among poets in several languages. But it is successfully answered by Pearce and Newton, that *Horeb* and *Sinai* are two summits of one mountain; *Sinai* being the highest, which, says Josephus, in his Jewish Antiquities, iii. 5, "cannot be seen without straining the eyes;" hence it may be called *secret*; that it is said in Exod. xix. and Ecclus. xlv. and other places, when God gave the law of Moses on the top of Sinai, it was *covered with dark clouds and thick smoke*, and the people were not to come near it till after a given signal, and even then they were only to come to a certain boundary, but *not to ascend it* on pain of death; besides, *secret* may be classically used in the sense of *secretus*, *set apart*, or *separate*, (*secretosque pios.*—*Æn.* viii. 670.) Furthermore, by the rules of good poetry, a particular epithet, as descriptive of a peculiar circumstance, is to be preferred to a general one. Milton, xii. 227, in reference evidently to the clouds and smoke, says, "Sinai, whose *gray* top shall tremble." So that *secret* is evidently the correct reading, in whatever sense it is to be taken. As Horeb and Sinai are used for one another in Scripture, (see Exod. iii. 1; Acts vii. 30,) the poet does not determine on which of them the inspiration was given (though he seems to incline to the latter), therefore he mentions both.

8. "That shepherd," &c. Moses, who, after his flight from Egypt, married the daughter of Jethro, a prince of Arabia, and tended his flocks, before he led the Jews from Egypt, and wrote Genesis; perhaps he uses the epithet figuratively, (Psalm lxxvii. 20,) "Thou leddest thy people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron."

10. "Fast by," &c. Close to. So b. iii. 354.

11. "Siloa's brook," &c. Siloa was a rivulet that flowed near the temple of Jerusalem, (Isa. viii. 6.) So Milton invokes the muse that inspired David and the prophets on Mount Sion, on which stood the royal palace and the ark, and at Jerusalem, as well as Moses. The temple is called the oracle of God, as the high priest occasionally received there the gift of inspiration; particularly when for public purposes he consulted the Divine will by Urim and Thummim.

13, 14, 15. It is not unusual with poets to boast of the novelty and boldness of their poetic flights. So Lucretius, i. 925.—

"Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante
Trita solo," &c.

Virgil, Georg. iii. 292.—

"—— juvat ire jugis, quâ nulla priorum
Castaliam molli divertitur orbita clivo."

Hor. Od. xi. 10.—

"Non usitata nec tenui ferar penna,
Biformis per liquidum Æthera vates."

Virgil, Georg. iii. 11.—

"Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas."

Aonia, the ancient name of Bœotia, contained Parnassus, Helicon, and other places, supposed to be the haunt of the Muses. Milton means here, that his flight will be far above that of the ancient

poets. (See ix. 13.) So, Paradise Regained, i. 14, he invokes the muse "to tell of deeds above heroic."

16. "Things unattempted," &c. The commentators, especially Todd, make a distinction between *rhime* here, which means poetry in general (from ῥυθμος) and *rime* in the preface, where it is six times mentioned, and always without an *h*, and where it is defined "the jingling sound of like endinge." Todd further shows that Spenser, in his "Verses to Lord Buckhurst," placed before his Faery Queen, and in b. i. c. 6. st. 13, of that poem, also uses *rhime* for verse.

17. "And chiefly thou, O Spirit," &c. Milton here invokes the Holy Ghost, in conformity with a belief, for which he had scriptural authority, that every great conception, discovery, or good gift, descended as an inspiration from heaven. (See James i. 17.) It is said, Exod. xxxv. 31, that Bezaleël, who made the furniture of the tabernacle, was "filled with the Spirit of God in wisdom," &c. Milton too had a firm persuasion that he himself was inspired.—*Heyl.* See ix. 22.

21. "Dove-like sat'st brooding," &c. See a sublime amplification, vii. 235. Allusion is made to Gen. i. 2: "And the Spirit of God moved on the surface of the waters." The word we translate *moved*, properly signifies *brooded*, like a bird on her eggs; and he says like a *dove*, rather than any other bird, as the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove, Luke iii. 22. As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expressions are oftener borrowed from them than from our translations.—*(N.)*

26. "And justify," &c. *i. e.* show that man, by neglecting to obey the divine injunction, could only blame himself, and not God. (See ver. 211.) This justification is given most argumentatively and convincingly, b. iii. 96, &c.

27. "Say first for heaven," &c. He mentions heaven and hell, as the range of the subject embraced both.

32. "For one restraint," &c. *i. e.* on account of one thing, the tree of knowledge, from which they were restrained; being (except this) lords of every thing else in the world.

39. "To set himself in glory," &c. As it appears from v. 812, that he was already in place above his peers, we must here understand that he had an aim to rise higher, and place himself in *glory* (which is the emphatic word of the line) above them; *i. e.* in divine glory and royal power, such as God and his Son were set in. See v. 725; vi. 88; vii. 140.—*(N.)*

43. "Quique *arma* secuti *impia*." (Æn. vi. 613.) "*Bello* profugos egere *superbo*."—*Ib.* viii. 118.

45. "Hurled headlong," &c. Thus Vulcan is represented as hurled from heaven by Jupiter—Ῥιψε ποδος τεταγων, απο βηλου θεσπεσιοιο.—*Il.* i. 591.

46. "With hideous ruin," &c. *Ruin*, from *ruo*, a fall with violence and precipitation: "Immane preceps impulsæ ruinæ." (Juv. Sat. v. 20.) "Cœli ruina." (Æn. i.) *Combustion* here expresses more than *flaming*; it means conflagration general, awful, and destructive.

48. "In adamantine chains," &c. Αδαμαντινων δεσμων εν αῤῥηκτοις πεδαις. (Æsch. Prom. vi.) "Clavis adamantinis." (Hor.) The phrase has been used by many English poets.

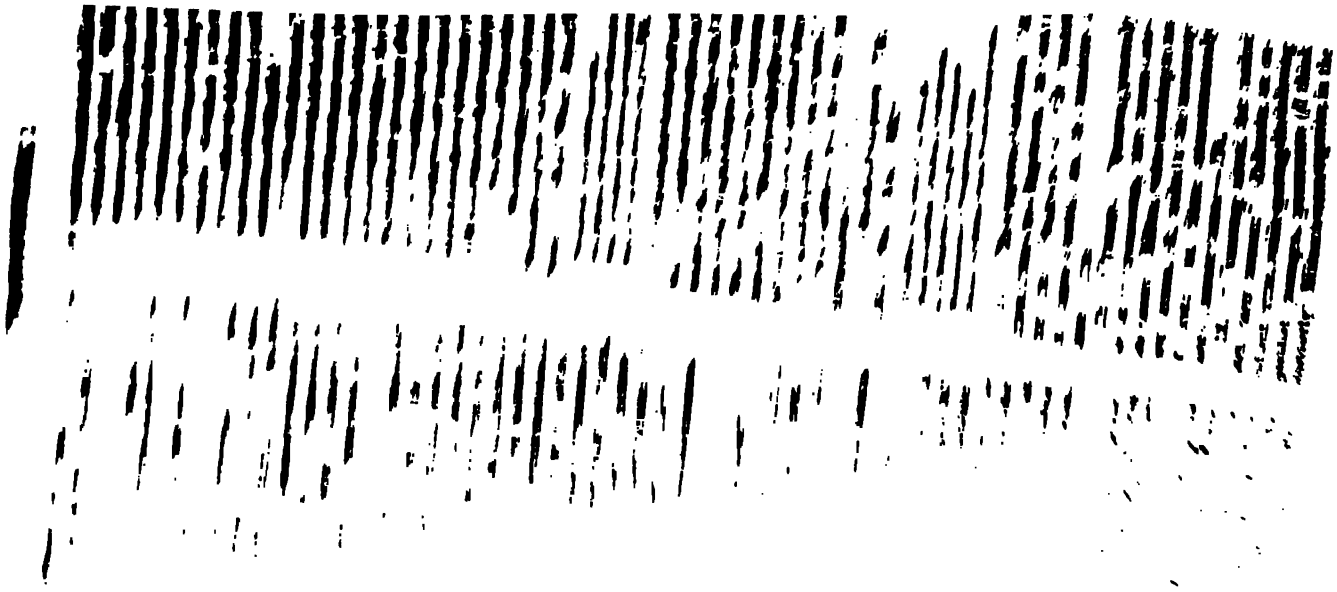
50. "Nine times the space," &c. Nine was a favourite number with the classic authors. (See vi. 871.) The plague in the Iliad lasted nine days. Styx, in the Æneid, took nine circuits. So there were nine Muses, &c. &c.—*(B.)*

59. "Ken," *i. e.* see; their power of vision being greater than that of mortals.

63. "Darkness visible." Not absolute darkness, which is invisible, but a gloom only, when there is barely light sufficient to show there are objects. Eurip. Bacchæ. 510, ὡς αν σκοτιον εισορα κνεφας. Thus, Seneca, speaking of the cave of Pausilippo, (Ep. 57,) "Nil illo carcere longius, nil illis faucibus obscurius, quæ nobis præstant, non ut *per tenebras*, videamus, sed *ipsas*." Antonio de Solis, in his History of Mexico, speaking of the cave where Montezuma consulted his deities, says, "It was a large dark subterraneous cavern, where some dismal tapers afforded just *light enough to see the obscurity*."—*(N.)*

66. "And rest can never dwell," &c. Eurip. Troad. 676,—Ουδ', ὁ πασι λειπεται βροτοῖς, συνεστιν ελπις. See Dante, Inferno, iii. 9.—*(T.)*

74. *I. e.* from the centre of the earth, which is the centre of the world, to the utmost pole, or the pole of the universe, which is beyond the pole of the earth. It is curious to mark the gradations of distance respecting the depth of hell in Homer, Virgil, and Milton. Homer says, τοσσον ενερθ' αϊδεω, οσον



brevity and energy of expression, and justness of thought, arising from the nature of the foregoing speech, and Satan's present misery. Æn. i. 212:—

"Talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus æger
Spem multu simulat,—premit altum corde dolorem."

Theocrit. Idyl. i. 95:—

——ἁ Κυπρις γελαοισα,
Λαθρα μεν γελαοισα, βαρυν δ' ανα θυμον εχουσα.

Homer has applied a similar description to Juno:—

——— ἡ δε γελασσε
Χειλεσιν, ουδε μετωπον επ' οφρυσι κυανεησιν
Ιανθη—

131. "Perpetual king." He does not call him *eternal* king, for, if he were so, his throne could not be endangered; but *perpetual* king, *i. e.* one reigning only from time immemorial, without interruption. (See v. 637.) Ovid. Met. i. 4:—

——"primaque ab origine mundi
Ad mea *perpetuum* deducite tempora carmen."
(N.)

141. "Glory extinct," &c. Like a bright light. So, metaphorically, Æn. iv. 322:—

——"Te propter eundem
Extinctus pudor, et, quâ solâ sidera adibam,
Forma prior."—*(T.)*

"Extinct" here is, *be* extinct; so, after, "swallowed" means, *be* swallowed up.

144. "Of force," &c. *I. e.* by force, or from necessity. So βια is used in Greek.

152. "Gloomy deep?" Prom. Vinct. 219:—Ταρταρου μελαμβαθης κευθμων.

156. "Speedy words." So, επεα πτεροεντα, Homer. There is a peculiar propriety in the words here, as the last words of *Beëlzebub* startled *Satan.*—*(N.)*

157. "Fallen cherub," &c. In the spirit of what he himself said, 116, he replies to what Beëlzebub said, 146, &c. He says it is an advantage to have our strength entire; for whether we are to act or suffer, it is a miserable thing to be weak. So ii. 199: "To suffer, as to do, our strength is equal." "Doing or suffering," is here the absolute case.—*(P.)*

169, 170, 171. The account by Chaos, ii. 996, corresponds with this. But Bentley shows that these are contradicted by Raphael's account, vi. 860, when it is said that Messiah pursued them only to the bounds of heaven, and then returned; and 882, that the saints stood witnesses. Newton well replies, that from the confusion of Satan, after he woke from his trance, when he lay "confounded," 54, and of Chaos, who was equally "confounded," vi. 871, they spoke from their own disturbed and frightened imagination. And as, vi. 830, the sound of Messiah's chariot is compared to the sound of "a numerous host," they may well fancy that a host was engaged in the pursuit. Besides, as the rebellion was raised on account of the preference shown to Messiah, Satan's pride may have induced him to ascribe his defeat rather to the whole host of heaven than to him alone.—*(N. P. T.)*

171, 172, 173. "Sulphurous hail, o'erblown, hath laid the fiery surge." The meaning of this passage is plain. The surge had been laid in consequence of the blowing over, or cessation, of the hail. But I think the construction is very unusual in English. When the hail blew over, or ceased, it did not exist, and therefore could not, strictly speaking, be said to have laid the surge. However, there are examples of such a mode of expression in the classics. So Æn. v.:—"Placidi straverunt æquora venti."

174. "His" and "bellow" show a peculiar beauty, as they exhibit the personification of the thunder as a terrible monster.

179. "Satiate." Satiated. So after, 193, "uplift," for uplifted.

185. "There rest," &c. So Shakspeare, Rich. II. act. v. sc. 1.:—

"Here let us rest, if this rebellious earth
Have any resting."—*(Bo.)*

190. "Afflicted" is generally used by Milton in the sense of *afflictus*, routed, dashed down, broken.—*(R.)*

191. "If not." Bentley says "if *not*" makes the construction ungrammatical, and proposes "if *none*." But it is a common classical mode of phrase, like *sin minus*, ει δε μη, and is quite admissible here. The sentiment here is similarly expressed in Seneca, Med. 163, "Qui nihil potest sperare, nihil desperet."

193, 194. Milton seems to have had the following passages in view—the description of the old dragon, Fairy Queen, I. xi. 14.

"His *blazing eyes*, like two bright shining shields,
Did burn with wrath, and sparkled living fire."

So Virgil, speaking of the serpents, Æn. ii. 206:—

"Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta, jubæque
Sanguineæ exsuperant undas; pars cætera pontum
Pone legit."—*(T. N.)*

195. 'Prone on the flood," &c. The number of monosyllables, and the slow and encumbered motion of the feet in this line, as in lines 202, 209, must strike the reader as beautifully expressive of the subject—a vast, prostrate body. So Spenser, Fairy Queen, I. ii. 8. describes the old dragon, "that with his largeness measureth much land." Virgil, Æn. vi. 596, describes the giant as extending over nine acres, "Per tota novem cui jugera corpus porrigitur." But the indefinite description which Milton gives is far better, in my opinion, than the precise specification of dimensions in Virgil, as the reader's imagination is not confined to any particular measure.

199, 200, 201. "Gens antiqua terræ, Titania pubes." Æn. vi. 580. Briareus is here a word of four syllables, though in Greek and Latin it has only three; and one of the first two syllables is long, though in Greek and Latin both are short. Milton follows Pindar (Pyth. 130,) Homer (Il. ii. 783,) and Pomponius Mela (de S. O. i. 14,) in placing his den in Cilicia, of which Tarsus was the ancient capital. (Hom. Il. i. 403.)

201, 208. "Leviathan," &c. Though the leviathan, first mentioned in Job xli. 1, is considered by some of the best biblical critics to be the *crocodile*, from the mention of scales in that passage, yet it is evident that Milton here means the *whale*, as the crocodile is not found on the Norway coast, and is too small and agile an animal to answer the description here. "Scaly rind," is but a poetic figure to express the rough, wrinkled, hard skin of that animal. "The ocean stream," ωκεανον ποταμον. (Homer, Odys. xi. 638.)—*(N. T.)*

"Haply," quasi, happeningly, accidentally.—"Foam," a boisterous sea throwing up a high surf, or foam.—"Night-foundered skiff," a boat prevented by the darkness of the night from proceeding: *founder* is a nautical word applied to a disabled ship. Comus, 483:—

> —"some one like us *night-foundered* here."

Bentley proposes "*nigh* foundered," as the word is used ii. 940. But the words, "while night invests the sea," after, appear to me to decide for the present reading.

"Under the lee," *i. e.* under the lee or sheltered side of him.

"Invests," *i. e.* clothes, as if with a mantle. So Fairy Queen, I. xi. 49:—

> "By this the drooping daylight 'gan to fade
> And yield his room to sad succeeding night,
> Who with her *sable mantle* 'gan to *shade*
> The face of earth."—*(N.)*

Though several books of voyages in Milton's time stated the fact of vessels anchoring under shelter of a sleeping whale, yet he avoids the responsibility of its truth by saying "as seamen tell."

209. "So stretched out," &c. Μεγας μεγαλωστι εκεετο. (Il. xviii. 26.) The last foot in this line must be read as a spondee.

215, 216. The first foot of these two lines is a trochee.

226, 227. The conception here bears a strong resemblance to Spenser's, in his description of the dragon, Fairy Queen, I. ii. 18:—

> "Then with his waving wings displayèd wide,
> Himself upright he lifted from the ground,
> And with strong flight did forcibly divide
> The yielding air, which nigh too feeble found
> Her flitting parts and elements unsound
> To bear so great a weight."—*(Th.)*

229. "Liquid fire." So Virg. Ecl. vi. 33, "liquidi simul ignis."

231—233. Pearce and other commentators propose to read *winds* here, as in 235. But it may be a question whether Milton did not here mean to express the element collectively, and in the other passage its various currents, whose contrary action partly caused the disruption. It is generally believed that Sicily was separated from Italy by a convulsion of nature. Pelorus, now Capo di Faro, is a promontory of Sicily at the straits, which are there about two miles broad. Æn. iii. 687, 571:—

> "Angusta ab sede Pelori . . .
> Terrificis juxta *tonat Ætna* ruinis."

235. "Sublimed." An expression in chemistry, by which is meant the separation of the finer parts (from the grosser), which thus mount and acquire additional force. It is opposed to *precipitated*.

237, 238. This phrase, "such *resting* found the *sole* of unblest *feet*," I think must induce the supposition that Milton had in view the dove sent out of the ark, Gen. viii. 9, which "*found* no *resting* for *the sole of her feet*, and returned unto him."

246. Sovran, *i. e.* sovereign, from the Italian *sovrano*, which is evidently derived from *supernus*, is another reading.

247. *Πορρω Διος και κεραυνου.* Greek proverb. Bentley.

248. "Whom reason hath," &c. Addison has remarked, that though the poet puts very impious sentiments in the mouth of Satan here, yet they are made so extravagant as not to shock the reader. Besides, Satan, notwithstanding all his defiance, is obliged to acknowledge the omnipotence of God.

254. "The mind is its own place." This was a maxim of the Stoics (the most obstinate and uncompromising sect of all the old philosophers,) who often carried it to a preposterous extent. It is here quite characteristic of the doggedness and vanity of Satan. Horace, in ridicule of the maxim, represents a Stoical cobbler as maintaining that he was a king. B. i. Sat. 3. The following passage has been often quoted as analogous to this:—

"Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt
.... petimus bene vivere. Quod petis, hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus."
Hor. Ep. I. 2.

252. Ajax, in Sophocles, before he kills himself, exclaims in a similar strain, (but this line is a great improvement on that passage):—

Ιω σκοτος, εμον φαος, ερεμβος
Ω φαεινον ωσ εμοι,
Ελεσθ', ελεσθ' οικητορα,
Ελεσθε με.—*(N.)*

260. "For his envy." *I. e.* any thing for the possession of which he could envy us.

263. It was a remarkable saying of Julius Cæsar, that he would rather be the first man in a country town than the second in Rome. The passage is a great improvement on the reply of Prometheus to Mercury, Æschyl. Prom. Vinct. 965. —*(T.)*

266. "Astonished." The same as "astounded," a few lines after, and vi. 838, and "astonied," ix. 896:—*attoniti*, as if deprived of sense and motion by a thunderbolt.

274, 275. "Perilous edge of battle." The following passage from Shakspeare, 2 Henry IV. act i. has been quoted as similar to this:—

"You know he walked o'er perils on an edge,
More likely to fall in than to get o'er."

But *edge* here, and vi. 108, is used like *acies* in Latin, which not only means the *edge* of any thing, but, figuratively, an army drawn up in line of battle.

286. So Fairy Queen, V. v. 3:—

"And *on her shoulder hung her shield*, bedeckt
Upon the bosse with stones that shinëd wide
As the fair moone, in her most full aspect."

So Iliad, xix. 373:—

Αυταρ επειτα σακος, μεγα τε στιβαρον τε,
Ειλετο, τουδ' απανευθε σελας γενετ' ηϋτε μηνης.

Milton uses the comparison here to signify not its splendour only, but chiefly its size; large as the moon seen through a telescope,—an instrument first invented by Galileo, a native of Tuscany, whom he again, v. 262, makes honourable mention of, as a tribute to his genius, and his own intimacy with him during his travels in Italy. See also Callimachus, Hymn to Diana, 53; and Tasso, Gier. vi. 40.

"Fesolé," the ancient Fesulæ, near Florence. "Valdarno," or the Vale of the Arno, where Galileo resided; both in Tuscany.

292, 293. Homer compares the club of Polyphemus to the mast of a ship:—*εσσον δ' ιστον νηος.* (Odyss. ix. 322.) Virgil, Æn. iii. 659, compares it to the trunk of a pine tree—

"Trunca manum pinus regit, et vestigia firmat."

Ovid, Metamorph. xiii. 782, more fully conveys Milton's sentiment:—

"Cui postquam pinus, baculi quæ præbuit usum,
Ante pedes posita est, antennis apta ferendis."

Milton, as the reader will easily see, not only embodies, but surpasses the descriptions of all three.

"Amiral" means any large or capital ship, such as an admiral's ship. Masts of the largest size were furnished, in Milton's time, from the pine-woods of Norway.

298. "Nathless," *i. e.* not the less, nevertheless; a word often used by the old English poets.

299. *I. e.* besides the fire on the burning ground, the fire above him smote him sorely also.

302. Homer, Virgil, and the ancient poets often use the comparison of *leaves* to *multitudes*. Georg.—

"Quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
Lapsa cadunt folia."

(See Tasso, Gier. ix. 66; Dante, Inferno, iii. 112; Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, xvi. 75.) But the comparison of Milton possesses a peculiar beauty and appropriateness; for it not only expresses the number of angels, but their position also, covering the "enflamed sea," as the leaves cover the "brooks." Besides,

the amplification of the similitude presents a new landscape. It has been urged by some critics that, as in Vallombrosa, (*quasi vallis umbrosa*, or shady vale,) in Tuscany, the trees are mostly evergreen, and therefore do not shed their leaves all at once in the autumn, Milton is botanically wrong; still it is asserted that the leaves drop off by degrees (as the same leaves do not always continue), and accumulate continually; and this circumstance is a sufficient justification of Milton, (see Todd.) I may observe, that Milton must have seen this famous valley: and, as being a botanist, must have been aware of the nature of evergreens, and of the autumnal state of the folia_e there, and therefore made the comparison knowingly. Besides, "autumnal," (the word on which the objection has been mainly hung,) independently of its poetical fitness, is materially right, as the accumulation of leaves in autumn, after the dry seasons, must be greater than that in spring, after the wet and rotting seasons. In addition, I may state that, besides evergreens, there are many other kinds of trees there whose leaves drop off autumnally.

304. Orion is a constellation represented in the figure of an armed man, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather. Æn. i. 539: "Assurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion."

306. Some learned travellers object to the accuracy of this simile, on the ground of their having seen no sedge flung by storms on the shores of the Red Sea. But Milton's full justification, I think, is, that, from the real or supposed quantity of sedge thrown on the shore, that sea was, in Hebrew, called "the sedgy sea," and he had, therefore, not merely historical but sacred authority for the assertion. Besides, it may be urged, that this want of knowledge on the part of sojourners, during a certain time, cannot be considered as a disproof of a circumstance that the name "sedgy sea" did establish, at one period, as a credited fact. *Vexed* here is used in the sense of *vexare*.

309—311. Goshen was the district allotted to the Israelites in the kingdom of Egypt. The commentators remark, that Milton (in imitation of Homer and Virgil) goes off here from the main purpose of the similitude, and, by the introduction of the floating carcases, introduces an additional beauty and a new image. Milton does not use a poetic license in making this Pharaoh, Busiris, as he has the authority of some previous writers for it. — "Chivalry" means all those who fought on horseback, and from chariots. So 765: so Par. Reg. i. 343.— Pharaoh's pursuit is called "perfidious," because he previously agreed to allow the Israelites to depart unmolested.—*(P. H.)*

314. See Note 540.

317. "If" depends on "lost," in the preceding line.

318 & 322. "Or.... or." This passage, obscure to many readers, has not been explained by the commentators. This structure of sentences is strictly on ancient classical principles: the first conjunction "or" does not join the clause which it commences with the preceding, but is an inceptive, and referring to the latter "or," (322.) It begins the first clause of a logical disjunctive proposition, and means "either" or "whether.' So in Latin, "Ne...an," "Seu... seu," "An... an," &c. are used as reciprocally referential. Satan ironically asks his followers *whether*, in consequence of the ease they experienced on the burning lake, *they chose* it as a resting-place, as comfortable as they found heaven to be; *or*, not so choosing it, but finding it full of horrors, *they* basely *swore* to adore the conqueror by remaining in that abject posture in which he placed them.

320. "Virtue," in the original sense of *virtus*, or *αρετη*, personal prowess and courage. In the progress of civilisation, when the regulation of human conduct became of more value than bodily courage or power, the word was taken in a moral sense.

328, 329. Virgil, Æn. i. 44, gives somewhat a similar representation of Ajax Oïleus:—

"Illum expirantem *transfixo* pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto."
(H.)

335. "Nor knew they not." This use of the double negative to express a full affirmative is a pure and a beautiful Græcism. Iliad, xiii. 28:—

—— ουδ' ηγνοιησαν ανακτα.

The best Latin poets adopted it. See Virgil, Georg. ii. 449.

337. The use of the word "to," as the sign of the dative case, depending on the verb "obeyed," is quite a Latinism. There are, however, other instances of it

in English poets. Fairy Queen, III. xi. 35:—

"Lo! now the heavens *obey to* me alone."

"Yet." I have often known readers feel a difficulty here. If the angels so well knew the evil plight and the fierce pains in which they were, and which were attributable to their former submission to Satan's orders and counsels, why should they now start up so promptly at his call? The explanation is to be found in the word "dread," in the preceding simile, which, though one of the most homely, is one of the most beautifully expressive in the whole poem. So strong was their esteem and awe, and so rooted their feeling of obedience to their chief, that, though still stupified with the effects of their defeat, and racked with pain, they rose up at his command, as it were involuntarily and by impulse.

338—341. This refers to one of the plagues brought on Egypt by Moses, (Exod. x. 13,) when he stretched forth his rod in consequence of Pharaoh's refusal to allow the Israelites to depart.—"Warping," a nautical term, *i. e.* working laboriously forward in a sort of sidelong motion. The *rod* of Moses was the *staff* generally used by him for driving his flocks. This God commanded him to take with him for working miracles before Pharaoh. Exod. iv.

348. "Sultan" was the title of chief ruler among the Turks and Arabians, and is selected here as the designation of Satan, because the Mahometan despots were the greatest enemies of Christianity.—*(N.)*

351, &c. He refers to the irruption of the Goths, Huns, Vandals, &c. from the north of Europe, which, from the immense numbers it sent on the south, barbarously destroying every vestige of art and learning, was called "the northern hive." He uses "Rhene" of the Latin, and "Danaw" of the German, in place of the common names, Rhine and Danube, as being more ancient and classical. "*Beneath* Gibraltar" means more southward (as they landed in Africa), the *north* being *uppermost* on the globe.—*(N.)* These three similes rise beautifully above each other, and do not merely give an illustration of the numbers of the fallen angels, but, as Dunster has well observed, of the *different states* in which they are represented. In the first, while lying supinely on the lake, they are compared to heaps of dead leaves strewing the brooks of Vallombrosa; in the second, when on the wing to obey their leader's order, they are compared to the multitudes of locusts on their flight to Egypt; in the third, when lighting on the firm brimstone, and ranging themselves under their several chiefs for the purpose of projecting new hostilities, they are compared to the most numerous bodies of troops which all history records as engaged in military expedition. This succession of similes will recall to the classical reader's memory the succession of similes in the second and third books of the Iliad.

363. Several critics of high authority would read here "*book*" in place of "books," as more conformable to the style of the epic and of Scripture. Rev. iii. 5: "I will not *blot* his *name out of the book of life*."

367. *I. e.* by false idols belying, under a corporal representation, the true God. So Rom. i. 22, 23: "They changed the truth of God into a lie." Amos ii. 4: "Their lies caused them to err."—*(Up.)*

372. "Religions" here is used, like *religiones* sometimes in Livy and Cicero, to signify, religious *rites*.

376. Milton, in imitation of Homer (Il. ii.) in his catalogue of the ships, and of Virgil (Æn. viii.) in his catalogue of warriors, invokes his muse anew in his catalogue of the principal fallen angels. This catalogue has been much praised, as a most learned epitome of the whole system of the Syrian and Arabian idolatries; and is considered peculiarly appropriate here, as deducing the origin of superstition, without an explanation of which this religious poem would be imperfect.—"Whom first, whom last." So Homer, Il. v. 703:—

Τινα πρωτον, τινα δ' υστερον.

Virg. Æn. xi. 664:—

"Quem telo primum, quem postremum."

380. Ovid, Met. xiii. 1:—

"——— vulgi stante corona."

384, &c. Consult 1 Kings vi. 23; 2 Kings xix. 15; xxi. 4, 5; Exod. xxv. 22; Ezek. vii. 20; viii. 5, 6; xliii. 8; Jer. vii. 30.—*(N.)*

387. The ark, or chest, which contained the tables on which were written the Commandments, and was deposited in the Sanctuary or Holy of Holies, the inner part of the temple, to which none but the high priest had access, and this only once a year, was encircled by two golden figures of winged cherubim. It was here God is said to have been enthroned. The ark was two cubits and a half long,

a cubit and a half wide, and a cubit and a half high. It was made of shittim wood, (which was whitish, hard, close, and incorruptible,) and covered with plates of gold. (See Exod. xxv. 10—22.) The blossoming rod of Aaron was also deposited there (Numb. xvii. 10), and the omer (a six-pint measure) of manna gathered in the wilderness (Exod. xvi. 33). It is generally believed to have been taken off to Babylon at the time of the captivity, and never restored. It was not in the second temple. It is remarkable that the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, imitating, but corrupting, this part of the Jewish religion, had their *cistæ*, containing their most sacred things, and deposited in the recesses of their temples. See Spencer de Legib. Hebræor.; Apuleius de Asino Aureo, ix. xi; Plutarch on Isis and Osiris; Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. ii. 5; and Calmet.

392—405. Consult 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 10; Deut. xviii. 10; Levit. xviii. 21; xx. 2; Jer. xxxii. 35; Amos xxv.; 2 Sam. xii. 27.—"Moloch" means *king*; and "horrid" refers to the sacrifices offered to him. He was the chief divinity of the Ammonites, whose capital city was Rabba, and the southern boundary of whose country was the river Arnon. The rites observed in his worship varied according to place and circumstances; sometimes children and grown-up persons were obliged to *pass only* through the fire kindled in his honour by way of purification, or charm against disease or evil; this was also the mode, it is said, of consecrating persons to the ministry of his priesthood. It is not certain whether the votaries actually passed over the fire, and through the blaze; or only between two large fires kindled close to one another: the former is more probable. Human victims were also sacrificed to him; sometimes by being burned on a pile before his image; sometimes they were shut up within the idol, which was made of brass, and heated to such a pitch that the wretched victim was consumed. It is said to have contained seven apartments for the different sorts of victims, human and brute animals. Sometimes the image was wicker, or wooden, and set on fire, together with the victims enclosed in it, until both were destroyed. Julius Cæsar, in his account of the Druidism of Gaul, says, that numbers of human victims were periodically sacrificed in this way. The Rabbins describe the idol of Moloch as of brass, sitting on a throne, and wearing a crown; having the head of a calf, with open blood-stained mouth, and his arms extended to receive the miserable victims. In Sonnerat's Travels, there is a curious account of the custom of passing through the fire, even now existing in a part of India, at the annual feast of Dermah Rajah:—"For eighteen days the votaries sleep on the ground, fast, and observe the strictest chastity; at the expiration of that time, an intense fire, forty feet long, is kindled, round which the images of Dermah and his wife are carried with great pomp, amidst the sound of musical instruments and the prayers of the multitude. Then the votaries, their heads covered with garlands of flowers, and their bodies anointed with saffron oil, and their foreheads rubbed with the ashes of the holy fire, proceed naked through the blazing element, while the musical instruments continue playing. Some carry children in their arms; some spears, targets, &c.; and some, other objects of their affection. It often happens that several perish in the flame; those who survive the operation are much caressed, and relics of what they bore with them are coveted and preserved by the spectators." The drums and musical instruments were, it is said, used in the rites of Moloch to drown the cries of the sufferers. I do not see why they should not have been considered as having been also used in honour of the divinity and of the rite. Many commentators of high authority say, that Saturn of the Carthaginians, the descendants of the Phœnicians, to whom, it is notorious, human sacrifices were offered, was the eastern Moloch; some think him to be the Mars of European and more modern Paganism.

406. "Chemos" is derived by the best antiquaries from an Arabic root which signifies *to hasten*, and is supposed by them to be the same as *the sun*, the speed of whose course and light may well procure it the name of *swift*. Strabo, b. xv. and Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. when they mention Apollo Chomeus, are supposed to allude to the same deity as Chemos of the Moabites. Others say that Chemos was the same as Ammon. Now Macrobius shows that Ammon was the sun, and that the horns with which he is represented denote his rays. Lucan, Pharsal. ix. says that Ammon was the divinity worshipped by the Æthiopians, Arabians, and Indians:—

"Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus sit Jupiter Ammon."

As Milton, no doubt following the authority of Jerom and others, takes Chemos for Baal Peor, (though the best supported opinions identify Baal Peor with Thamuz or Adonis,) I will in this place mention the principal circumstances connected with the worship of Baal Peor in particular, and of Baal in general; for there were many deities under the general name of Baal, according to the place and circumstances of the peculiar worship, and the attributes of the particular divinity. *Baal* is *Lord* or *Master;* and *Peor, aperture:* Baal Peor is the Lord of opening, and the title is generally believed to refer to him as the deity who presided over the formation and production of animal matter; and was, according to Origen and St. Jerom, the same as Priapus of the Romans, and Bacchus of the Greeks, the worship of whom was attended with some grossly obscene circumstances. He was the chief divinity of the Moabites, who generally appointed women to officiate at the religious rites. These rites were of the most licentious kind; though the people did not think them revolting to decency, but expressive of meritorious homage to the great generative and producing power. The image of the god was naked, somewhat resembling the *Phallic* image of the Grecian Bacchus. Herodotus says that the Greeks themselves could give no explanation of the cause of the *Phallic* worship of Bacchus, or of the time and circumstances of its introduction, though it was to him clear that it came from the East. I think there can be little doubt that it followed in the train of Cadmus, the Phœnician, who introduced so many important changes in the language, institutions, and customs of Greece. The votaries, while paying Peor worship, were naked. The Egyptians, in the worship of Orus and Osiris, observed rites and adored a power similar to those of Peor. The festival of *Saktipujah*, observed by the Hindoos to this day, resembles that of Chemos. See Fr. Paolino, Voyage to East Indies.—"Orgies," from *οργη, furor*, were properly the wild, licentious rites of Bacchus, and correctly referred here to the rites of Chemos.

Some authors imagine that Baal Peor means the "Lord of Mount *Peor*," where this deity was worshipped with peculiar honour, as Jupiter was called *Olympius;* Apollo, *Clarius;* Mercury, *Cyllenius*, &c. from the places where they were worshipped. When the Israelites were encamped in the vicinity of Moab, Balak, the king, fearing such an immense multitude would attack, perhaps overrun, his country, consulted Balaam, a native of Pethor, on the Euphrates, famous in all those regions as a diviner and a prophet. Balaam advised that the Moabite women should form sexual connexion with the Israelites, and thus lure them by the attractions of their religious ceremonies, to idolatry, which would deprive them of the protection of God, gradually destroy their peculiarity as a separate people, incorporate them with the Moabites, and eventually enfeeble, if not destroy them. This counsel was acted on, and the Israelites were seduced to carnal intercourse and idolatry. This so exasperated Moses that he ordered one thousand of the principal delinquents to be slain; twenty-three thousand more perished by plague, as a visitation from God. Solomon erected a sacred grove and statue for this divinity on the Mount of Olives, as he did for Moloch, (hence the words "opprobrious hill," and "hill of scandal,") when he lapsed in his old age into idolatry, at the instigation of his heathen concubines. But king Josiah, who lived in the time of the prophets Jeremiah, Baruch, Joel, and Zephaniah, cut down the heathen groves, and broke the images to pieces, there and all over Judea; the images he ordered to be reduced to powder, and scattered over the graves (which among the Jews were always considered polluted places not to be touched) to prevent any the smallest part of them from being preserved as relics: and to prevent the places of the groves and images from being ever after used as places of worship, he ordered the bones of the most eminent persons who were engaged in the idolatry, to be dug out of their graves and scattered over them, so as to render them as polluted and odious as possible. (See Calmet, and Selden de Diis Syriis.)

"Aroer was a city on the Arnon, the northern boundary of Moab; Nebo was a city towards the east; and Abarim was a ridge of mountains, the boundary to the south. Seon or Sihon king of the Ammonites, took Hesebon or Heshbon, and Horonaim from the Moabites. Eleäle was another city near Heshbon; the Asphaltic Pool was their boundary to the west." As the Moabites and Ammonites were neighbours, Chemos and

Moloch are properly mentioned in succession.—*(N.)*

"The *Asphaltic Pool*," sometimes called the *Lake of Sodom*," as standing on the site of the ancient Sodom, derives its name from the quantity of *asphaltus*, a species of bitumen, which floats in masses on its surface. This asphaltus is thought to be superior in quality to any other, and is much used by the Arabians for medicinal purposes. It is shining, dark, heavy, and of a strong smell when burnt.

The lake, which is about seventy miles long by about twenty broad, though receiving the large river Jordan, and several others, yet has no visible outlet, and does not overflow, which is supposed to arise from the evaporation of the inflowing fresh water. It is called "*the Dead Sea*," because it was believed that fish could not live in it, or even birds fly over it with safety. It may be well called the *Avernus* of the Eastern world. But admitting that it is not so utterly destructive of animal life, (and indeed Chateaubriand, Maundrel, and other travellers doubt the fact,) the gloom and stagnation of the water, the sterility of its high and rocky shores, the paucity of animals seen about it, and the horrid desolation that reigns upon it and all around, would well entitle it to that name. From the concurrent representations of all authors, the place appears as if the malediction of Heaven had lighted upon it. It is also called the "*Salt Sea*" by the Hebrews, who call nitre and bitumen "*salt*." But the celebrated Galen says that it is really impregnated with salt, and to such an excess that if salt be thrown into it, it will scarcely be dissolved. Madden, a late traveller, and a physician, says that, so thick and strong was the water, he found it difficult to sink in it when he went to bathe there; and so virulent its quality, that having cut his feet on the sharp flint stones before getting in, he was, on his return to Jerusalem, confined for a fortnight with gangrened sores.

419, 420. The Euphrates was the utmost border eastward of the promised land, (Gen. xv. 18.) Newton thinks it is called "old," because mentioned by the oldest historian, Moses; but I think rather because it is the oldest river mentioned in history; for Pison and Gihon are names now extinct, and merged in the Euphrates, of which they were but branches. (See Gen. ii.)

422. *I. e.* Baals, or Ashtoreths or Astartes, *pl.* "Baal," or "Bel," *i. e.* "Lord," in the generic sense of the word, was the principal divinity of the Phœnicians, Syrians, Persians, and Chaldeans, and perhaps the most ancient of the East. From his primitive worship, various species of idolatry spread over the East, whence they were imported into Europe, under different guises and denominations, according to the several epithets and attributes given him in the East, or to the fancies and desires of his new votaries. There were many *Baals* in the East, such as Baal-Peor, Baal-Zebub, Baal-Gad, Baal-Zephon, Baal-Berith, &c. It is generally allowed that he was the deified *sun*, which was not only the most amazing of the heavenly bodies, but that which contributed most in giving light, life, heat, and all animal and vegetable existence. The *moon*, too, (Astarte,) contributing her fair share in the diffusion of these blessings, was honoured under various names, and in various modes of worship, after mankind fell from a true knowledge of the "*great Author*." I shall here confine myself to *Baal*, the *sun*, or *fire*. His temples were generally on eminences, (or, if not so, were raised high,) and circular, wherein a perpetual fire was kept. The Greeks therefore called them "*Pyreia*," and "*Pyratheia*." Sometimes he was worshipped at stated times on high places, where there were no temples, but always with the accompaniment of fire. This kind of worship extended over all Asia and Europe, as the existing names of places and relics of it attest. M. Sonnerat (Voyag. vol. i. p. 140,) says that in November the Hindoos light up vast fires, and illuminate their houses at night, in compliance with the institutions of *Bali*. In the British Isles strong remnants of this worship, which was introduced by the Druids, still exist. The first of May is called "BaalThinnih," or "Thinnih dagh," *i. e.* "the Day of the God of Fire;" the entire month is called, in Ireland, "Baal Thinnih." Human victims were undoubtedly offered to Baal. In the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 621, it is stated that on the 1st of May all the boys of a township or hamlet meet, and enclosing with a trench a round space, in which they assemble, kindle a fire there, at which they dress an egg custard and an oaten cake. After eating the custard, they divide the cake into as many pieces as there are individuals, and having blackened one with charcoal or soot, fling them all into a bonnet or other receptacle; then each person, blindfolded,

draws out a piece by lot. Whoever draws the black bit is the devoted person to be sacrificed to Baal, whose favour they mean to implore in making the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. Now the devoted person, in place of being sacrificed, is obliged to leap three times through the flames. Mr. Pennant, in his Tour through Scotland, gives some additional particulars:—On the 1st of May, after kindling a fire in an open space, they dress a caudle of eggs, milk, butter, and meal, to which each must contribute something; they begin with spilling a portion of the caudle on the ground by way of libation; then each person takes a cake marked into a number of divisions, each dedicated to some particular animal or being, either as the supposed preserver or destroyer of their flocks and herds; and breaking them off in succession, with his face towards the fire, flings them over his shoulder, saying at each fling, "This I give to thee—preserve my sheep;"—"This I give to thee—preserve my horses." So in the same way to the noxious animals—"This I give to thee, fox—spare my lambs," &c.

In Ireland,—at least in the south-western part,—the "*Baal Thinnih*," called in English "Bonefire," by the peasantry, is celebrated on St. John's eve. It is a day and night of great merry-making. I have myself joined, when a boy, in the amusement and the ceremony. Close by each farm house a fire is kindled in the evening, and the cattle are brought to it: if they cannot be driven through it, each interested person takes a burning brand, a branch of a bush or tree, and strives to strike the animals, who are frequently hemmed in by a circle of men and women, to prevent their escape in their consternation. The affrighted beasts running to and fro, and their fire-armed pursuers, present together a curious and exciting scene, which spreads over the whole country. Some of the men and women leap through the fire. The cattle are supposed to be rendered fruitful, and preserved from evil during the ensuing seasons, by this contact with the holy fire. This ceremony ended, all the people of a district, young and old, assemble at the general "bonefire," for which great preparations have been made. It is generally an immense pile of turf, of a pyramidal shape, with the decayed trunk of a tree in the middle, and outtopping the lofty pile, decked round with dry bones and green boughs, and surmounted with the skull of a horse or cow, when it can be procured. Without these the fire is incomplete. There is always music and dancing until a late hour,—sometimes till the dawn. In some places a long file of men bearing flambeaux proceed from the fire a considerable distance, until they meet parties belonging to another fire, marching in similar procession; and then both parties, waving their torches in mutual salutation, return. These long rows of moving light seen on the slopes of the hills, and the columns of flame from the blazing piles, exhibit a very imposing spectacle. In North Wales this fire is kindled on the 1st of November, when each person who runs through the fire casts a stone into it, and then runs off to escape from the black short-tailed cow: if any person's stone is missing in the morning, it is a diastrous sign. The custom of snap-apple, and burning nuts on that night is generally allowed to be a remnant of this superstition, which still in various shapes exists in Norway, Denmark, and the north of Germany. The Druids kindled two great fires in the year, both in the beginning of summer and of winter. Hence the difference of the time of observance in different places.

438. Astoreth, or Astarte, was the goddess of the Phœnicians, the same as the moon. Her image was represented with horns—"Siderum regina bicornis." (Hor. Carmin. sec. xxxv.) Groves were generally her temples, where such obscenities were committed as rendered her worship infamous. She was the same as the Syrian Venus, the Carthaginian Juno, and the Egyptian Isis. Sometimes her worship is described by that of "the host of heaven;" hence she is rightly said here to "come in troop," as she was one of them. Her worship was frequently joined to that of the sun; but while human victims and other bloody sacrifices were offered to Baal, cakes, precious liquors, and perfumes were offered to her: tables were prepared for her offerings on the first of every month, on the flat roofs of houses, near gates, and on the cross ways. This the Greeks called "Hecate's Supper." Solomon erected a grove and temple for her on the Mount of Olives. See 1 Kings xi. 5; 2 Kings xxiii. 13.—*(N. C. Spencer, De Orig. Idolat.)*

444. "Heart" is used here for *understanding*, as it is sometimes; so is *cor* in Latin, and *κεαρ* in Greek.

446. "Thammuz," was the god of the

Jordan, which had not furnished troops to the confederate army.

508. Javan, fourth son of Japhet son of Noah, was the progenitor of the Ionians and Greeks. Ionia was the ancient name of Attica.

516. Il. i. 420: Ολυμπον αγαννιφον. xv. 192: Ζευς δ' ελαχ' ουρανον ευρυν εν αιθερι και νεφελησι.

517, 518. He alludes to the oracles of Apollo at Delphi, and of Jupiter at Dodona, a city and wood in Epirus.

520, 521. *I. e.* over the Adriatic sea to Hesperia or Italy, thence to Gaul and the places possessed by the Celtic tribes, and thence to the remote British Islands.

523. "Damp" means here *dispirited*. He also uses the word elsewhere, to express a similar idea. So xi. 544; v. 65; ix. 45.

526, 527. "Which" refers, in my opinion, not, as some commentators think, to "looks downcast and damp" alone, but to the words "wherein appeared some glimpse of joy" as well; as both together produced among the angels a look of doubt, and cast a *similar* hue of *doubt* on his countenance; but as it may mar his hope to exhibit this, he quickly assumed a courageous air and vaunting tone.

529. Fairy Queen, II. ix. 2:—"Full lively is the *semblaunt* though the *substance* dead."—*(Th.)*

532. A "clarion" is a small shrill treble trumpet. *Hume.* Spenser uses them together:—"With shawms (hautboys) and trumpets, and with clarions sweet."

533. "Azazel," from the Hebrew *Az* and *Azel*, signifies, *brave in retreating*; a proper appellation for the standard-bearer of the fallen angels.

537. The following passage of Gray has been quoted as an imitation of this:

"Loose his beard, and hoary hair,
Streamed like a meteor to the troubled *air*."

I think the following passage in Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope" is much more appropriate:—

"Where Andes, giant of the western star,
With meteor standard to the wind unfurled,
Looks from his throne of clouds o'er half the world."

540. "Reign," from *regnum*, here means *kingdom*. So Spenser, Fairy Queen, II. vii. 21, has "Plutoe's griesly rayne;" and Pope, Il. i. has "Pluto's gloomy reign."—*(N.; T.)*

540—543. It is evident to me that Milton, in these noble descriptions, must have recollected the following passages. Virgil, Æn. ix. 504:—

"At tuba terribilem sonitum procul ære canoro
Increpuit, sequitur clamor, cœlumque remugit."

Æn. iii. 673:—

"Clamorem immensum tollit quo pontus et undæ,
Intremuere omnes, penitusque exterrita tellus
Italiæ, incurvisque immugiit Ætna cavernis."

So Discord, in the beginning of the 11th book of the Iliad, when sent down from heaven "holding between her hands the portentous sign of war," when she lights at the Grecian encampment, sends forth a shout that resounds from shore to shore. So Il. ii. 334.—

Ως εφατ', Αργειοι δε μεγ' ιαχον, αμφι δε νηες
Σμερδαλεον κοναβησαν.

546, 547. "Orient," beaming, as the rising sun. (See Gier. Liber. xx. 28, 29.) Æn. xi. 600:—

"——— tum late ferreus hastis
Horret ager, campique armis sublimibus ardent."

Il. iv. 447:—

Συν ρ' εβαλον ρινους, συν δ' εγχεα, και μενε' ανδρων
Χαλκεοθωρηκων· αταρ ασπιδες ομφαλοεσσαι
Ενληντ' αλληλησι.

550. Homer describes his warriors moving on in close phalanx, horrent with spear and shield. Il. iv. 281:—

Δηιον ες πολεμον πυκινοι κινυντο φαλαγγες
Κυνεαι, σακεσιν τε και εγχεσι πεφρικυιαι.

(See after, of this book, 563—565.) The phalanx was a compact square body of infantry, used in the armies of Macedon, so close as to present one solid mass, and very formidable on even ground, but inferior to the Roman legion on uneven ground, where it was comparatively incapable of quick evolutions or steady action. The soldiers used immensely long spears, whence the name, some think (as Homer calls long poles or pikes *phalanges*), and held their shields closely locked and clasped together, or "serried," from the French *serrer*, to lock: some again derive phalanx from πελαζειν αγχι, to approach closely. —The *Doric* measure of music was of a grave, majestic character. The judgment of Milton, says Greenwood, is very great here. When Satan's associates were bordering on despair, he commanded his standard to be at once upreared, and the clarions and trumpets to sound, in order to raise their courage; at which they sent up a tremendous shout of joy. But when it was necessary to mitigate this ardour, and they were to march steadily on, the musical instruments are changed for flutes and soft recorders to the Dorian mood, which

composed them to a more cool and deliberate valour, so that they marched on in silence and firm union. Thucyd. v. 70, and Aul. Gel. i. 11, represent the Lacedæmonians, a Doric people, using these instruments as calculated to inspire them with a greater coolness of courage and steadiness of action. The *Lydian* measure was of a softening and melancholy character. So Dryden, Alexander's Feast:

"Softly sweet in Lydian measure
Soon he sooth'd his soul to pleasure."

The character of the *Phrygian* was that of sprightliness.

560, 1. This is quite Homeric. Il. iii. 8:—

Οἱ δ' ἀρ ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί.

563. "Horrid," the same as "horrent," ii. 513, bristled. — Æn. iii. 23, densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.

565. "Ordered," *i. e.* borne regularly, according to military regulation, as on parade.—*(R.)*

568. "Traverse," *i. e.* transversely, across.

571, 2. Dan. v. 20: "His *heart* was lifted up, and his mind *hardened in pride*." —*(Gill.)*

575. All the heroes and armies that ever assembled would, if mentioned in comparison with these angels, be no more than pygmies. Pliny (Nat. Hist. vii. 2,) places these pygmies beyond the Indian mountains, and about the source of the Ganges.—*(N.)* He says they were only three spans high, each span three quarters of a foot, measuring from the top of the thumb to that of the little finger. See Iliad iii. 6, for the simile of their disastrous battle with the cranes.

577. "Phlegra" was a city in Macedon, where the giants were defeated through the aid of Hercules, when they attacked the gods. Other accounts represent this defeat as having taken place at Cumæ, in Italy. — "Thebes;" this refers to the famous war of the seven chiefs against Thebes, the capital of Bœotia, in the contest between Eteocles and Polynices, sons of Œdipus, for the throne, in which, as in the Trojan war, the warriors on each side were aided by their own tutelar deities.—*(N.)*

580. *King Arthur*, the Briton, the son of Uther Pendragon, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century, was celebrated for his exploits by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of romance. He was often in alliance with the king of Armorica, since called Bretagne, or Brittany, in France.—*(N.)*

583. The names of these places are written as they were in the stories of romance. Aspramont is said to be a town of the Netherlands, in the duchy of Limburg, south of Liege; Montalban, on the borders of Languedoc; Trebisond was a city of Cappadocia, in the lesser Asia: all these places are famous in romance for joustings, or single combats, between the Christians and Saracens.

585, &c. He alludes to the Saracens, who crossed over from Biserta, the ancient Utica, in Africa, to Spain. The Spanish historians, whom Milton here follows as more romantic, say that Charlemagne, king of France, and emperor of Germany, undertook, about the year 800, a war against the Saracens of Spain, but was routed and slain at Fontarabbia, a strong town in the province of Biscay. But the French writers say that he was victorious, and died at home in peace.—*(N.)* It has been urged against Milton as a fault, that he was too fond of allusions to the stories of romance. But it has been answered, I think successfully, that his imagination was enlarged by this kind of reading, and his style and imagery rendered more striking by its application. The same objection may apply to his use of mythological tales. Besides, he had the authority of Spenser, and the old Italian poets. He drew, for illustration, from every source, sacred, profane, and romantic.—*(P.)*

587, 8. Though so immeasurably superior to all earthly heroes, yet they obeyed their venerated commander. This gives a lofty idea of Satan. Addison says there is not a passage in the whole poem worked up to a greater pitch of sublimity, than the following description and comparisons. Homer compares Ajax to a tower; but that comparison wants the imposing touches of this.

596, &c. He compares him to the morning sun seen through a haze, or when eclipsed: in an eclipse of the sun, the moon is between it and the earth. It is said that the book was near being suppressed in consequence of this passage, which was interpreted as intimating new political convulsions, and the insecurity of royal power. But in truth, Virgil said nearly the same in the court of Augustus, whose government succeeded a commonwealth, as did that of

Charles, and was more despotic. Henry i. 444 —

" Sol cito signa subit, eadem ruit ultima Parcis
Ardenti: ille etiam exoso nocturnus horrore
Serpit manet, frustraque et operta luminis ora
Solis."

Milton had perhaps also in view the following beautiful simile in Shakspeare. Rich. II. iii. 2, where Richard is compared, in his discontent and indignation, to—

—— " the blushing discontented sun
From out the fiery portals of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent
To dim his glory. . . . . .
. . . . . Yet looks he like a king."

Thus he embodies the two similes: indicating the prognostics by the one, and the dimmed lustre by the other. His judgment in these similes has been much admired. As he only meant to convey the idea of loftiness and firmness, which are *inseparable* from a tower, he does not describe it; but, as the diminution of the sun's light is an *occasional* effect, he does give a description. Burke says, " These great images produce their powerful effect because they are crowded and confused." — " Disastrous," is here classically used in its original signification of an evil conjunction of stars—δυσ αστρον.—(See *N., Warb., D.*)

601. " Intrenched," furrowed. So Shakspeare (All 's Well),

" This very sword *intrench'd* it."

608. Read a semicolon after " pain."

609. " Amerced " here means, deprived, from the Greek αμερδω, αμερσω. Odys. viii. 64.

οφθαλμων μεν αμερσε, διδου δ' ηδειαν αοιδην. *(H.)*

611. The construction depends on " behold," 605; yet to behold how they stood faithful.

612. There is a peculiar propriety in this splendid comparison, as " heaven's fire" and thunder produced the same effect on the angels, as on the oaks and pines, the stateliest of all trees.—" The blasted heath " corresponds with " the burning soil " on which the angels stood.—*(N.)*

618. Homer frequently represents his warriors as mute with silent attention, ακην εγενοντο σιωπη.

620, 621. Ovid. Met. xi. 419:—

" Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rogavit."

Homer represents his heroes, Achilles and Agamemnon, shedding tears, not from pusillanimity, but from grief mingled with indignation and rage. Il. ix. 13: ως ἡ [illegible] ἀμφιπολευον. Thus Achilles in the first Iliad, 349: ασπετω ἀχεϊ[illegible] *Pope.* — " Such as might [illegible] i. e. of a different kind from the tears of mortals. So vi. 332, when Satan is wounded by Michael, from the wound—

" A stream of nectarous humour issuing flowed
Sanguine, such as celestial spirits may bleed."

So in Homer, Il. v. 340, the wounded divinity does not yield blood, but a thinner substance, ειδαρ εδουσι. When the soldier pierced the side of our crucified Saviour with a spear, " forthwith came thereout blood and water." John xix. 34.

622. The irregular structure of sentences in this speech represents Satan's perturbation of mind, is in accordance with his position, and resembles that in the speech, 315.

624. Ovid. Met. ix. 6:—

" —— nec tam
Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum est."

One of the most beautiful passages in that most perfect of all ancient or modern orations, the speech of Demosthenes " On the Crown," is where he consoles the Athenians on their defeat; that they only obeyed the irresistible call of honour and duty in engaging in the war, leaving the issue to fortune. I may here observe, that the speeches in Milton, especially in the first and second books, are very much in the spirit, style, and manner of Demosthenes.

630. Hor. iii. Od. ii. 17:—

" Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ."

633. Though, ii. 692, v. 710, and vi. 156, it is said that only one-third of the angels fell; and this is the number mentioned in the Apocalypse xii. 4—" And his tail drew *the third part* of the stars of heaven after it, and cast them to the earth;" yet Satan artfully, by way of vaunt, and to encourage his followers, speaks of having *emptied heaven.—(N.)*

636. " Different," *i. e.* different from those of his followers.

647. " No less." Nevertheless. He says the Almighty deceived them by concealing his strength at first, and so effected their fall. But, nevertheless, he will find himself matched by their artifice, though not by their might.—*(R.)*

651, 652. This is a very important part of the poem, as showing the design of man's creation to be antecedent to the revolt. See Note on ii. 346. Read a comma after " create."

662. "Understood," *i. e.* implied, though not expressed.—*(P.)*

664. Drawing the *sword from the thigh* is a phrase often used by Homer. Il. i. 194, et alibi:—

Η ὁγε φασγανον οξυ ερυσσαμενος παρα μηρου.

668. Milton here alludes to the custom of the ancient soldiers signifying their approbation of their leader's address by shouting, and striking their spears or swords on their shields. (See my Note on Livy, i. 50.) Tacitus, Germania, c. 2: "Si placuit sententia frameas concutiunt: honoratissimum consensus genus armis laudari."

I have often heard a pugnacious Irishman say, in his native language, "I strike the shield and call for battle;" a phrase, no doubt, derived from the custom of the Celtic tribes. See Fairy Queen, i. 4, 40.

671. Æn. iii. 576:—

"Interdum scopulos eruptaque viscera montis
Erigit eructans."

673. "His womb." *Womb* is here used, as *uterus* sometimes is in Virgil, to signify the *belly* of a *male* animal. See Æn. vii. 499, xi. 809.—*(N.)*

674. In Milton's time, metals were thought to consist of mercury as the basis, and sulphur as the binder.—*(N.)*

678. "Mammon," in Syriac, means "riches." Read a semicolon after "on."

682. Il. iv. 2: χρυσεω εν δαπεδω. Rev. xxi. 21.—*(N.)*

685. "By him and his suggestion." Bentley says there was but *one* cause, and that is improperly divided into two. Warburton defends the division by referring to a superstition among miners, that there are a sort of devils who are very busy in the various operations of mining, some digging, some cleansing, some smelting, &c. So the devils may be said to teach the art by example as well as by precept. But in all likelihood the words are to be taken as a poetical amplification, (by the figure hendyad, ἐν διὰ δυοιν,) of dividing a proposition into parts.

688. Hor. iii. Od. iii. 49:

"Aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm."

694. Diodorus Siculus, i. and Pliny, xxxvi. 12, say, that 360,000 men were employed for twenty years on one of the pyramids of Egypt, which were near Memphis, the capital.—*(N.)*

697. "And." *Is outdone*, must be supplied; thus, "And what they in an age scarce perform, is outdone in an hour."

702—704. "Sluiced," conveyed in sluices.—"Founded," melted, from *fundo*.—"Severing," separating the sulphur, earth, &c. from the metal.—"Bullion" is an adjective, referring not to the metal in a purified state, but in a crude, while under the smelting process.—"Dross," what floated on the boiling metal.—*(P., R.)*

711. Some commentators imagine that Milton borrowed this conception from the stage machinery and scenes, which suddenly appeared as if they started out of the ground, designed by Inigo Jones for the masks of Charles I. But how did Inigo Jones himself get the thought? I think both may have borrowed from the magical creations so often described in the stories of romance.

712. Read a comma after "sweet."

713—717. "Pilasters," ornamental pillars set in a wall, with about one-fourth of their thickness outside.—"Architrave," the lower division of an entablature, or that part which rests on the capital or upper part of the column.—"Cornice," the uppermost member of the entablature, or the highest projection; it crowns the order.—"Frieze," that flat part between the architrave and cornice, generally ornamented with figures.—"Fretted," ornamented with fretwork or fillets interwoven at parallel distances.—*(N., Johnson.)*

718. Milton has been censured by Bentley for substituting Cairo here, which was long subsequent to the existence of Memphis; but as it was built near the site of Memphis, and as it is said by some learned writers to signify "the City," by way of eminence, (see Calmet) Milton may be justified for using the word.

720. "Serapis," the same as Apis, or Osiris. The word was generally pronounced Serápis; but Milton has the authority of Prudentius and Capella, independently of the privilege of poetry, for writing it Serăpis.—*(P.)*

723. See Note on i. 282.

725, 726. Æn. ii. 483:—

"Apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt."

Æn. i. 726:—

"dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt."

728. "Cressets," any great light set on high, from the French *croissette*, because beacons had anciently crosses on their tops.—*(Johnson.)*

729. "Naphtha and Asphaltus," two

pitchy, inflammable substances, issuing, the one from the ground in Babylonia and Persia, the other from the bottom of the Dead Sea, and found floating on the surface. (See xii. 41, &c., and note on i. 411.)

736. A Latinism, "quibus dedit regere."

737. It is said that Milton has followed the arrangement of the book περι ουραν. ἱεραρχ. c. vi. 7, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, of dividing the angelic world into three orders: first, seraphim, cherubim, and thrones; secondly, dominations (δυναμεις), princedoms (κυριοτητες), powers (ἐξουσιαι;) third, principalities (αρχαι), virtues, archangels, angels.—*(Cal.)*

738. Milton selects out of Vulcan's many titles, the epithet "Mulciber," from *mulcere*, to soften, as that which expresses the founder's or smelter's art.—*(N.)*

740, &c. This follows closely Homer's description of his fall, as told by Vulcan himself. Il. i. 590:—

Ῥῖψε ποδος τεταγων απο βηλου θεσπεσιοιο,
Παν δ' ημαρ φερομην, αμα δ' ηελιῳ καταδυντι
Κατπεσον εν Λημνῳ—ολιγος δ' ετι θυμος ενηεν.

Milton beautifully represents the protracted duration of his fall, by dividing the day into three periods, and emphatically calling it a summer's day. There is a similar division, and as it were prolongation of time, in the seventh book of the Odyssey, 288, where Ulysses sleeps all night long, and till the morning, and till the middle of the day, and till the setting of the sun:—

Εὐδον παννυχιος, και επ' ηω, και μεσον ημαρ,
Δυσετο τ' ηελιος, και μ' γλυκυς ὑπνος ανηκεν.

(See N., P.)

746. "Ægean" is here a dissyllable, and the emphasis is on the first syllable in place of the second. So x. 688, he uses Thyēstian for Thyestēan. Il. v. 53—

Αλλ' ου οἱ τοτε γε χραισμ' Αρρεμις ιοχεαιρα
Ουδ' ἐκηβολιαι. *(N.)*

750. "Engines" here means devices.

752. He has given them wings not only as angels, but to express their speed. —*(H.)* See ii. 518. Il. ix. 10.

756. "Pandemonium," from παν and δαιμονιον, the dwelling of all the devils.

760. "Trooping," εστιχοωντο. (See note on 769.)

763. "Covered field." *Covered* here means *enclosed*, i. e. for martial exercises or single combat.—See Tasso, Gier. Liber. iv. 3.—*(R.)*

764. "Soldan," the old English word for *Sultan*, as *Paynim* was for *Pagan*. See Note on 318. He alludes to the single combats between the Christians and Saracens, of which there were so many descriptions in the books of romance. He uses Paynim for *infidel*, for the Mahometans were considered not better than pagans, and were in fact more formidable enemies to the christian cause. Lord Byron, in his "Childe Harold," and other poems, applies *Paynim* to the Mahometans.

766. "Career with lance," alludes to those combats which were only for amusement and to display address, in which the points of the weapons were blunted beforehand.—*(Cal.)* "Career," to run rapidly, to charge, or make an onset.

768. The hissing sound of this line, it is said, beautifully expresses the sense.

769. The following similes from Homer and Virgil resemble this. Il. ii. 87:—

Ηὑτε εθνεα εισι μελισσαων αδιναων
Πετρης εκ γλαφυρης αιει νεον ερχομεναων,
Βοτρυδον δε πετονται επ' ανθεσιν εαρινοισιν.
Αἱ μεν τ' ενθα ἁλις πεποτηται, αἱ δε τε ενθα.
Ὡς των εθνεα πολλα νεων απο και κλισιαων
Ἱλαδον εις αγορην.

Æn. i. 430:—

"Qualis apes æstate nova per florea rura
Exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
Educunt fœtus."

But Milton carries the similitude farther than either, by mentioning the bees as conferring on their state affairs, as he is going to give an account of the consultations of the devils.—*(N.)*

Ovid, throughout the Fasti, describes the rising and setting of the signs of the zodiac, and expressly mentions the rising of Taurus, v. 603. So Milton (x. 663) speaks of the rising and setting of the *fixed* stars.—*(P.)*

770. Geor. iv. 21:—

"——Quum prima novi ducent examina reges
Vere suo, ludetque favis emissa juventus."
(N.)

774. "Expatiate," from the verb *expatiator*, which means, to range at large. So Ov. Met. "equi exspatiantur;" and "flumina exspatiantur." *Spatior* is used in the same sense.

777. Milton, in order as it were to obviate any objection that may be made to the various metamorphoses of his spirits in the progress of the poem, prepared the reader for a justification (423, &c.) When Satan harangued his spirits to sound their disposition, it was

in an ample field, where they appeared very properly in their natural dimensions; but now, when a deliberative council was to be held, the proper place was his own palace; and, from its necessarily limited space, they very properly exercised their power of self-contraction; but though the main body so contracted themselves, the chiefs are represented as still retaining all their gigantic proportions.—*(Add. N.)* So Milton represents the bees conferring about their state affairs, not in the open fields, but at their hive.

785. Hor. Ep. v. 49:—"O rebus meis non infideles *arbitræ*, nox, et *Diana*." "Nearer to the earth," is in allusion to the superstitious notion of witches and fairies having great power over the moon in bringing it nearer the earth. Virg. Ecl. viii. 69:—

"Carmina vel *cœlo* possunt *deducere* lunam." *(N., H.)*

790. "Were at large." *i. e.* had still room enough. *Au large*, French.—*(Rich.)*

796, 797. Thus Homer, describing the meeting of the gods in council, Il. xx. 10:—

Ελθοντες δ' ες δωμα Διος νεφεληγερεταο
Ξεστης αιθουσησιν εφιζανον.

"Frequent," like *frequens* sometimes, as Cic. Fam. Ep. 12, "Senatus *frequens* convenit," means "in great numbers."—"Full," means that these numbers filled that part of the hall—as we say, there was "a numerous and full house:" so there is no tautology.

BOOK II.

THE persons whom Milton introduces always discover such sentiments as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their speeches and actions is adapted with great delicacy and judgment to the persons who speak and act. Thus the mock majesty and superior greatness of Satan, his opening and closing the debate, his taking on himself the great enterprise at which the whole assembly trembled, and his boldness and address in the several perilous adventures, are quite in unison with his character.—*Ad.*

1. Spenser, Fairy Queen, I. iv. 8:—

"High above all a cloth of state was spread,
And a rich throne, as bright as sunny day,
On which there sat—"
(Stil.)

Again, III. iv. 23:—

——— "It did passe
The wealth of th' east and pomp of Persian kings." *(T.)*

2. *Ormus* is a barren island in the Persian gulf, about 9 miles in circumference, which, while the Portuguese held it, was exceedingly rich, as it was the place where all the trade of India, the principal part of whose wealth was diamonds and precious stones, was then transacted.—*(P.)*

3, 4. "Showers" may be taken either as a metaphor to express great abundance of them, because the eastern kings had the greatest share of property; or is in allusion to the custom at the coronation of many Eastern kings, especially Persian, of throwing gold-dust and seed pearl on their heads. There is a similar allusion to the custom in Shakspeare, Ant.&Cleop. act ii.—

"I'll set thee in a show'r of gold, and hail
Rich pearls upon thee."

The pearl and gold are called *barbaric*, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans, who called all other nations barbarous. Æn. ii. 504:

"*Barbarico* postes *auro* spoliisque superbi." *(N., P., Warb.)*

9. "Success" is here used in its pure and original signification, as, simply, "the issue, or termination." Johnson defines the word, "the termination of *any* affair, happy or unhappy. Success without any epithet is *commonly* taken for *good* success." Here it is used for *bad* success. The termination of the last war, though disastrous to Satan, could not teach him. So line 123.

12. "For" refers to the preceding words, and gives the reason why he calls them deities of *heaven*, not of hell. "Deities of *heaven*, for I give *not heaven for lost*," (it is your proper place, and will be yours,) "since," &c. The most

important point which Satan wishes to establish, is to impress on his followers the persuasion that they can recover heaven, of which they are deities; for on this all their approbation and cooperation would depend. He therefore artfully begins with giving them this assurance, and giving it as a justification for the title he bestows on them. This impassioned mode of commencing a speech, of which there are instances in the best ancient orators, is considered a great rhetorical excellence. Milton represents Satan as commencing in this style, b. i. 317, 318. When he there wishes at once to rouse them up, he says, heaven is lost if they do not shake off their stupefaction; and then with sarcastic irony asks them, did they choose the burning pool as a pleasant resting place? So in the next address, 622, 3, when they were fully collected, and sensible of their terrible condition, he commences by flattering them with a compliment on their prowess, and on having gloriously done their duty; and here, when they are to deliberate on the plan of action, he commences by laying it down as a truth, that within hell they cannot be confined. In each of these speeches the closing part is in admirable accordance with the beginning.

Lord Monboddo, says from "for" down to "fate" must be taken as a parenthesis.

16. *i. e.* they will be more glorious and formidable by rising after such a fall as that, than if they had not fallen at all; and having once so risen, they will have such confidence in themselves as not to fear a second fate.

18. "Me," as being the *emphatic* word in the sentence, is placed first, and is governed by the following verbs, *create* and *established*. Lord Monboddo adduces this passage as a perfect pattern, hardly to be equalled in English, of artificial arrangement, and rhetorical composition, many excellent specimens of which are to be found in the ancient classics. There are two striking examples of it in Horace, iii. Od. iii. 1:—

> "Justum et tenacem propositi virum
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni,
> Mente quatit solida; neque Auster
> Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
> Nec fulminantis magno Jovis manus."

See also Hor. i. Od. v.:—

> ——"Me tabula sacer
> Votiva paries indicat uvida," &c.

22. *i. e.* his loss so far recovered, as that he retained the leadership with unanimous approbation. The words allude to what follows them.

29. "Your bulwark." So Il. iv. 299: *ερκος εμεν πολεμοιο.*

33. Some learned commentators imagine obscurity and difficulty in the syntax here. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylyn are for reading the passage with a comma the words "*will* covet more" interrogatively, changing "*will*" into *he'll*, after "precedence," while they would have a period after "none;" and read thus, "*he'll* covet more?" Dunster, though justly saying that Milton never wrote the passage thus, does not appear to me to have cleared up the difficulty, by the following commentary:—"For *there is* none sure will claim precedence in hell: *there is* none whose portion is so small of present pain, that with ambitious mind *he* will court more." *Is* must, according to this, be understood grammatically as the verb to which *none* is the subject; then *who* must be understood as the nominative to *will claim*; and *he* must be understood as the nominative to *will covet*, while *that* is made a conjunction. In my judgment the sentence is very plain: the word *none* being, if not an emphatic repetition of the first *none*, the nom. to *is* understood, while the word *that* is the pronoun *who*,—"none will claim... there is none *who* will covet."

37. Because in heaven superiority of station carrying with it superiority of happiness, may create jealousy against the possessor, and consequently disunion; —not so in hell.

40, &c. Compare Jove's speech to the gods respecting the Titaness, Fairy Queen, VII. vi. 21:—

> ——"It now behoves us to *advise*
> *What way is best* to drive her to retire,
> Whether by *open force*, or counsel wise:
> Aread, ye sons of God! *as best ye can devise.*"
> *(T.)*

So also II. xi. 7:—

> "To assayle with open force or *hidden guile.*"

43. "Sceptered king." Homer—*σκηπτουχος βασιλευς.*

47. Bentley would read *he* for "and," as by the present reading "trust" must be the nominative to "cared."

50. "Recked." Cared, or made account; much the same as *reckoned.*—"Thereafter," accordingly.

52. *i. e.* less experienced in wiles than in open war, I boast not of them. Moloch, in his furious zeal for open war, I think evidently glances at Satan's

suggestion i. 646:—"To work in close design by fraud or guile."

64, 66. Compare Æschyl. Prometheus Vinctus, 920:—

Τοιον παλαισται̃ην νυν παρασκευαζεται
Ἐπ' αυτος αυτῳ, δυσμαχωτατον τερας:
Ὃς δη κεραυνου κρεισσον' εὑρησει φλογα,
Βροντη̃ς θ' ὑπερβαλλοντα καρτερον κτυπον.
(T.)

66, 67. An emphasis is to be laid on *infernal*, to distinguish it from celestial thunder, implied in the words "almighty engine;" and on "*black*," as opposed to "lightning."

69. "Mixed," in the Latin sense of *misceor*. (Æn. ii. 487):—

"At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
Miscetur."—(P.)

70. Emphasis on *own*. The torments which he invented against us, we shall use as weapons against him. The next sentence is to be taken ironically.

75. Emphasis on *proper* and *ascend*.

77. "Adverse." In the sense of *adversus*, opposite or contrary to our nature, which is to ascend, not to fall.

78. "Instaret curru cristatus Achilles." Æn. i. 468.

82. This passage, as far as "destruction," which states an imagined objection, is to be taken as irony. Read a semicolon after "destruction," 84.

89. "Exercise," in the occasional sense of *exercere*, to vex, to torment, Æn. vi. 739:—

"Exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt."

Georg. iv. 453:—

"Non te nullius exercent numinis iræ."

92. "Penance." The word here means "punishment," from *pœna*. So Shakspeare:—

"Mew her up,
And let her bear the *penance* of her tongue."
(Johns.)

It is said that Milton here had in view certain intermissions of infernal punishment, as Shakspeare, in Hamlet:—

"My hour is almost come,
When I to sulph'rous and tormenting flames
Must render up myself."—(H.)

94, &c. Il. xv. 509:—

Ἡμιν δ' ουτις τονδε νοον και μητις αμεινων,
Η αυτοσχεδιη̃ μι̃ξαι χειρας τε μενος τε.
Βελτερον, η απολεσθαι ἑνα χρονον, ηε βιωναι,
Η δηθα στρευγεσθαι εν αινη̃ δηϊοτητι,
Ὡδ' αἰτως παρα νηυσιν, ὑπ' ανδρασι χειροτεροισι.
—(Stil.) See n. 329.

97. From "happier," which agrees with "us," down to "being," inclusive, must be taken as a parenthesis.

101. "We are at worst on this side nothing." "On this side nothing," is *life*, or existence; as on the other side "nothing" means loss of existence, or annihilation. The meaning of this obscure phrase is—"We are at the worst pitch we can be in, at this side of annihilation;" or, "We are in the worst condition we can suffer in a state of existence."

104. "Inaccessible" agrees with "throne:" "fatal" does not here mean disastrous, or destructive; but is to be taken in the sense that *fatalis* sometimes is, *i. e.* appointed by fate; so Cicero (Catal. iv. c. 1.) "Meus consulatus ad salutem reipublicæ prope *fatalis* fuit;" or *upheld by fate*, as he expresses it, i. 133. See 197.

113. So Homer says of Nestor in Il. i. 249:—

Του και απο γλωσσης μελιτος γλυκιων ῥεεν αυδη,

"could make the worse appear the better reason;" the literal translation of the profession of the ancient sophists, *τον λογον τον ἡττω̃ κρειττω̃ ποιειν*.—(B.)

115. Read a semicolon after "low."

123. "Conjecture" here means *doubt*; "success" means *issue*. See Note v. 9.

130, 131. "Access" here means the *place* or *way* of approach, as *accessus* sometimes does. So also i. 761.

139. This refers to line 69.

142. Shakspeare (K. H. VI.)—

"Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair."
(Mal.)

146. Milton evidently alludes to Shakspeare's "Measure for Measure," iii. 1:—

"Aye, but to die, and go we know not where—
To lye in cold obstruction, and to rot—
This sensible warm *motion* to become
A kneaded clod—and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods!"

152. "Let this be good." *i. e.* even admitting that this may be good; a strictly classical phrase, "Esto hoc bonum;" *εστω αγαθον*.

156. "Belike through impotence." "Belike," by all likelihood, probably.—"Impotence" here means, as *impotentia* and *impotens* do, a want of power of mind to control the passions; hence violence and unsteadiness. This is spoken ironically.
(P.)

165. This abrupt use of the participle for a substantive is sometimes met with in impassioned passages of ancient poetry and oratory. The succession of interrogations in this speech is also quite in the style of Demosthenes, who often puts whole pages in an interrogative form.

(See Æsch. Prometh. 307—329, and Hom. Il. ix. 337.)—*(Stil.)*

170. Isaiah xxx.: "The *breath* of the Lord like a stream of brimstone *doth kindle it.*"—*(N.)*

174. So Hor. i. Od. ii.:—

——"Pater, et *rubente*
Dextera sacras jaculatus arces."

"His" refers to the Almighty, who from the allusions so often made to him is very well understood here without being named.

176, 7. "Cataracts," *καταρακτης* from *καταρηγσω*, to burst out violently. Read a comma after "fire," and expunge the comma after "hideous."

180. See Note on i. 328.

181, 182. Æn. vi. 75:—"Rapidis ludibria ventis." Milton on several occasions uses the substantive "wrack" to signify destruction: in this sense the verb here is to be taken, and not, as Dr. Johnson thinks, in the sense of *rocking* or *shaking*.

185. This practice of introducing several adjectives beginning with the same negative syllable, was often adopted by the Greek poets, and has been imitated by the best English poets. (See iii. 231.) Iliad ix. 62:—

Αφρητωρ, αθεμιστος, ανεστιος εστιν εκεινος.

Shakspeare, (Ham.)—

"Unhousell'd, unappointed, unaneled."

Fairy Queen, VII. vii. 46—

"Unbodiëd, unsoul'd, unheard, unseen."

Goldsmith, (Deserted Village)—

"Unenvied, unmolested, unconfined."
(P., T., Th.)

191. See Psalm ii. 4.—*(N.)*

199. Livy (ii. 12.) Scævola says, "*et facere et pati fortia* Romanum est."—*(N.)*

201—203. *i. e.* we should have determined, if we were prudent, to acquiesce in the justice of this law, which decreed our capability of suffering as well as of acting. Therefore we should at the outset have submitted, not resisted, especially when we must have been doubtful of the result of resistance.

220. "Light" here is evidently an adjective, in the sense of *easy* or *tolerable*.

227. So Virgil (Georg. iv. 564), "studiis florentem *ignobilis oti*."—*(N.)*

233. "The strife," *i. e.* between us and the Almighty. Chaos, or Confusion, could never be arbiter between contending parties.

234, 235. "*Former*" refers to "disenthrone"—"*latter*" to "regain" before.

244, 245. The following parallel line from Virgil will, I think, show how hypercritical has been the proposed substitution of "*from*" for "*and*" by Bentley. Æn. i. 42:—

"Thure calent aræ, sertisque recentibus halant."

"Odours" means incense, the smell of gums and spices. Here "breathes" means to exhale, or breathe forth, to emit the smell of. iv. 265.—*(P.)*

254. "Live to ourselves." Hor. Epist. I. xviii. 107, "Ut mihi vivam quod superest ævi."—*(N.)*

255, 256. Such is the indignant observation of Prometheus to Mercury, (Prom. Vinct. 974):—

Της σης λατρειας την εμην δυσπραξιαν
Σαφως επιστασο', ουκ αν αλλαξαιμ' εγω.—*(T.)*

265. Imitated from Psalm xviii. 11—13 and xcvii. 2.—*(N.)*

278. "The sensible," *i. e. sense*; a neuter adjective for a substantive.—*(H.)*

281. "Compose," used in the occasional sense of *componere*, as componere bellum, lites, curas, &c. to put an end to, to lull.

283. It will be observed that the debate takes a different turn from the original question proposed by Satan (line 41), as Belial and Mammon are opposed to war altogether.—*(N.)*

284. Æn. x. 96:—

——"Cunctique fremebant
Cœlicolæ assensu vario, ceu flamina prima
Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et cæca volutant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos."

Here, as the object of Juno's speech was to rouse the assembly of the gods, Virgil very properly uses the *rising* wind: so, as Mammon's design was to quiet the infernal assembly, Milton very properly uses the *falling* wind. Claudian has a simile of the same kind in his description of the infernal council of Furies, after Alecto's speech, in Rufinum, i. 70:—

"Ceu murmurat alti
Impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine fracto
Durat adhuc sævitque tumor, dubiumque per æstum
Lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia venti."

And in other particulars Milton seems to have had this council of Furies in his eye. The reader may compare Alecto's speech with Moloch's, and Megæra's with Belial's, or rather with Beelzebub's. —*(N.)* Milton in this simile did not forget Homer, whom he has, however, exceeded in beauty of description. Il. ii. 144:—

Κινηθη δ' αγορη, ως κυματα μακρα θαλασσης,
Ποντου Ικαριοιο, τα μεν τ' Ευρος τε Νοτος τε
Ωρορ' επαίξας πατρος Διος εκ νεφελαων.—(*T.*)

288. "Bark," a small ship. — "Pinnace," generally a small vessel attending a larger one.—(*Johns., R.*)

295. "Desire," nomin. to "wrought," understood.

302. Shakspeare, Hen. VI. pt. 2. act i.: "Brave peers of England, *pillars of the state.*"

305. It is strange how Bentley could have imagined "majestic" to refer to "counsel."—(*N.*)

306. "Atlantean," vast as those of Atlas, who was supposed to have supported the heavens.

308, 309. Æn. i. 151:—

"Tum pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant."

See Milton's description of an ancient orator rising to speak, ix. 671.—"Noontide air," the air at noon-time, when, in hot countries, there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and men and beasts, by reason of the heat, retire to shade and rest. — (*N.*) Homer and Ovid have given elaborate descriptions of the appearance and manner of orators, (Il. iii. 216; Met. xiii.) but they are incomparably inferior to this.

310. "Or." See Note to line 12.

327, 328. The *iron* sceptre is in allusion to Psalm ii. 9, as the *golden* is to Esther ii.—(*H.*)

329. "What," why; like *quid*, which signifies *what* and *why*. When *quid* and *what* signify *why*, they are elliptical; *propter* quid, *for* what, cur, why.

330. "Determined." *i. e.* the unsuccessful issue of the war hath ultimately fixed our condition.

333, 336. The commentators have remarked the unusual construction of the particle "but" in this sentence; it seems to put "custody severe," &c. and "hostility and hate," on the footing of "peace." "But," here, is used like the Latin *nisi*, in the rare sense of *except, unless*. Plaut. Mensæchm. Prolog. 59: "Ei liberorum, nisi divitiæ, nihil erat." Il. vi. 412: ου γαρ εγ' αλλη εσται θαλπωρη . . . αλλ' αχη. — "To our power." A classical phrase: "Pro viribus nostris;" κατα δυναμιν; to the best of our power.

341. A Latinism; "Nec deerit occasio."

346. There is great propriety here in making Beelzebub, the next in dignity to Satan, second the notion originally conceived by the arch-enemy (i. 650), of going in quest of a new world; the project on which the whole poem turns. There is also great beauty in giving us a glimpse of mankind even before they are in being, and referring to this tradition which ran of them in heaven before their existence. Virgil (Æn. vi.), in compliment to the Roman commonwealth, makes the heroes of it appear in a state of pre-existence. But Milton does a greater honour to all mankind.—(*Ad.*)

353. St. Paul, Heb. vi. 17: "he confirmed it by an oath." Homer and Virgil make Jupiter shake all Olympus with his nod of assent. Il. i. 528:—

Η και κυανεῃσιν επ' οφρυσι νευσε Κρονιων·
Αμβροσιαι δ' αρα χαιται επερρώσαντο ανακτος
Κρατος απ' αθανατοιο· μεγαν δ' ελελιξεν Ολυμπον.

Æn. ix. 104:—

"Dixerat, idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris
Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum."

Milton omits the *nod*, as God is not giving his assent to any one's petition, as he is in Homer and Virgil.—(*N.*)

360. It has been objected, that there is a contradiction between this part of his speech and what he says afterwards, 410. How could the earth lie exposed, and yet be so well guarded? But it is not said that the earth *does* lie exposed, but only that it *may*. Besides, he has a different object in both speeches; here, he wishes to encourage the expedition, and therefore *lessens* the dangers; there, when they are to select a proper person to employ in it, he *magnifies* the difficulty, in order to make them more cautious in their choice.—(*N.*)

367. "Puny," either *weak* or *little* in comparison to the angels; or, perhaps, also including the sense of the French, from which it is derived, *puis nè*, born since, created long after us.—(*N.*)

376—378. The style and structure of this sentence is purely classical; "if," in the sense of *either* if, *whether* if, serves as the antecedent and corresponding disjunctive to "or." In the first clause the subjunctive mood is used, and in the second the infinitive, both depending on the preceding verb. This kind of construction, though exhibiting elegance by reason of its variety, is called by the grammarians anomalous. Every classical scholar must be familiar with examples. —"Hatching vain empires" is a beautiful sarcasm on the words of Mammon, 254, &c.—(*D.*)

396. "Chance," by chance; taken adverbially, as *fors* in Latin sometimes is, "Fors et vota facit;" (Æn. ii. 50); or perhaps a verb, and "re-enter" in the infinitive mood, as Milton often omits the sign of this mood.

409. "Arrived," reached. So Shaks. Hen. VI. pt. 3. act v.:—

—— "Those powers, that the queen
Hath raised in Gallia, have *arrived our coast.*"
(N.)

410. "Isle." The earth hanging like an island in the sea of air. So Cicero describes it, De Natur. Deor. ii. 66.—*(N.)* "Abrupt," before, is used substantively, the gulf or steep, as *abruptum* sometimes is. Æn. iii. 422: "Sorbet in abruptum fluctus" Stat. 10, Theb. 523: "Equi *immane* paventes *abruptum.*"

420. Homer uses similar expressions when an affair of difficulty is proposed. Il. vii. 92.—

Ὡς ἐφαθ', οἱ δ' ἀρα παντες ακην εγενοντο σιωπῃ,
Αιδεσθεν μεν ανηνασθαι, δεισαν δ' ὑποδεχθαι.
(N.)

421. Compare the dismay expressed by the Romans after the death of the Scipios, when no one dared to proffer or accept the command in Spain, (Livy, b. xxvi. ch. xviii.); and also the gallant manner in which young Scipio offers himself, and addresses the assembly, "Magno elatoque animo," &c.—*(D.)*

431. See Homer, Il. ii. 342, &c.; Il. viii. 229; Odys. ii. 167; and the Scholiast on the last of these passages.—*(Stil.)*

432. Æn. vi. 128:—

"Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est."

See Dante Inferno, xxxiv. 95.—*(N., T.)*

434. "Convex," here, is put for concave: see 635. So *convexus* is used by the ancient poets for *concavus.* Hence Virgil has *cœli convexa*, and *supera convexa.*—*(N.)*

436. Æn. vi. 439: "Novies Styx interfusa coercet:" vi. 552:

"*Porta* adversa ingens, solidoque *adamante* columnæ." *(N.)*

438, 439. "Void profound." So Lucretius often uses *profundum* as a substantive; as, "immane profundum"—"unessential night," night void of being; darkness being the nearest and best resemblance of *nonentity.*—*(H.)*

443. Milton uses "remain," here and elsewhere, in the active sense of *await*, as *maneo* is sometimes used in Latin. Livy b. iv. ch. lxvi.: "Hostium adventum mansit."

445. Thus Sarpedon, in Homer, Il. xii. 310, says that a king, being most honoured, should likewise expose himself most to danger. But Milton has so dressed up the sentiment with all the rhetorical artifice of Demosthenes, that Homer cannot be recognised in it. The whole speech from this line is wonderfully beautiful.—*(Monb.)*

452. "Refusing;" if I refuse.

457. "Intend;" in the sense of *intendere*, to pay attention to, to strain or stretch the mind to any thing. So, "intendere animum." *Intend* and *attend*, as derived from the same root, had originally the same meaning.—*(Monb.; Stev.)*

477. This is more appropriate than if he said *loud* thunder; for "thunder heard remote" has a sound, not loud or strong, but awful, and very like that produced by the movement of a great multitude.—*(Monbod.)*

477, 478, 488. So Hesiod, Theog. xci.:—

Ερχομενον δ'ανα αστυ θεον ὡς ἱλασκονται
Λιδοῖ μειλιχιῃ.

Hom. Il. vii. 214:—

Τον δε και Αργειοι μεγ' εγηθεον εισοροωντες.
(Stil.)

483. "Lest," here, like μη in Greek, and *ne* in Latin, implies an ellipsis: "I make the remark, *lest*," &c. Ephes. ii. 8, 9: "By grace are ye saved through faith, not of works, *lest* any man should boast."—*(P., T.)*

485. "Close," designing, cunning, like πυκνος sometimes; as μηδεα πυκνα, Homer, Il. iii. 202, 208.

489. The north wind generally clears the sky and drives away the clouds. This simile is considered one of the most beautiful within the whole range of poetry. The mists rising from the tops of mountains, and overspreading the horizon in a mass of stormy clouds, express the gloom and dismay of the angels (420, &c.), and of their "doubtful consultations dark;" and the illumination of the sky is a picture of their joy at Satan's proposition. There are two similes in the Iliad, but applied on occasions different from this, from which Milton took some of the expressions and sentiments here. Il. v. 524:—

Αλλ' εμενον, νεφελησιν εοικοτες, ἁς τε Κρονιων
Νηνεμιης εστησεν επ' ακροπολοισιν ορεσσιν
Ατρεμας, οφρ' ενδῃσι μενος Βορεαο, και αλλων
Ζαχρειων ανεμων, οἱτε νεφεα σκιοεντα
Πνοιῃσιν λιγυρῃσι διασκιδνᾶσιν ιεντες.

Here, the Greeks, standing firmly in one compact menacing body, are compared to a mass of dark clouds overhanging the mountain-tops in a calm; and, in the other comparison, after they have repulsed the furious onset of the Trojans, and saved their ships, their joy is compared to a burst of sunshine. Il. xvi. 297:—

Ὡς δ' οτ' αφ' ὑψηλης κορυφης ορεος μεγαλοιο
Κινήσῃ πνοιην νεφελην στεροπηγερετα Ζευς
Εκ τ' εφανον πασαι σκοπιαι και Πρωονες ακροι
Και ναπαι, ουρανοθεν δ' αρ ὑπερρᾳγη ασπετος αιθηρ,
Ὡς Δαναοι νηων μεν απωσαμενοι δηϊον πυρ
Τυτθον ανεπνευσαν.

"Bleating herds." Both these words are used in a general sense, *herds* to express all sorts of cattle, and *bleating* to express their different sounds or noises; in this sense he uses "bleating gods" (i. 489), when alluding to the Egyptian idols under the forms of *various* animals. —*(N., P.)*

512. "Globe," a body of persons formed in a circle. Æn. x. 373: "Qua *globus* ille virum densissimus urget." Milton uses the word also in an incomparably beautiful passage; Par. Reg. iv. 581:—

——— "And straight a fiery *globe*
Of angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans received him soft
From his uneasy station, and upbore
As on a floating couch through the blithe air;
Then in a flowery valley set him down."

513. "Horrent arms." "*Horrentia* martis *arma*." Æn. i. "Horrentia pilis agmina." Hor. 2 Sat. i. 13. "Horrent," bristled, prickly, also includes the idea of terrible. See note, b. i. 563.

517. "Alchymy" here means *mixed metal*, used for trumpet. It properly means that part of chemistry which refers to the transmutation of metals.—*(R.)*

528. Homer, Il. ii. 774, represents the myrmidons during the absence of their chief Achilles from war, and Virgil, Æn. vi. 642, represents the departed heroes in Elysium, as entertaining themselves with their former favourite pursuits and exercises.

531. "Shun the goal." Plainly taken from Horace i. Od. i. 4: "*Meta*que fervidis *evitata* rotis." But, with great judgment, he says *rapid*, not *fervid*; because, in these hell games, the wheels, from the fire under and all about them, were fervid even before the race.—*(B.)*

533. The belief of these portentous signs was very ancient. Ovid. Met. xv. 782:—

"Signa tamen luctus dant haud incerta futuri.
Arma ferunt nigras inter crepitantia nubes,
Terribilesque tubas, auditaque cornua cœlo,
Præmonuisse nefas."

(See Tibullus II. v. 71.) So Virgil, Georg. i. 474:—

"Armorum sonitum toto Germania cœlo
Audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes."

536. "Prick forth," *i. e.* forward with the spur, in full career. Fairy Queen, Introduction:

"A goodly *knight* was *pricking* o'er the plain."

"Couch," *i.e.* fix them in their *rests*, which were receptacles made for the end of the spear in the breast of the armour.

538. "Welkin," the vault of heaven.

542. The madness of Hercules was a frequent subject for tragedy among the ancients. Milton has been censured for this comparison, as sinking below the subject. The same objection, I think, would apply to any illustration drawn from the exercise of earthly power, as being inadequate; and he could not have selected a more appropriate one than the last furious act of the most powerful being recorded in history. See the Hercules of Euripides; and Ovid. Met. ix. 136.

548, 549. This passage will recall to the classical reader's recollection Achilles entertaining his hours of retirement in the same way. Il. ix. 186:—

Τον δ' εὑρον φρενα τερπομενον φορμιγγι λιγειῃ,
Τῃ ὀγε θυμον ετερπεν: αειδε δ' αρα κλεα ανδρων.

550. This is taken from the famous distich of Euripides, which Brutus quoted when he slew himself:—

Ω τλημον αρετη, λογος αρ' ησθ', εγω δε σε
Ὡς εργον ησκουον, συ δ' αρ εδουλευσας βιῳ.

In some editions, for *βιᾳ* force, is quoted *τυχῃ* fortune. Milton has well comprehended both: "enthrall to *force* or *chance*."—*(B.)*

552. "Partial," *i. e.* to themselves; it dwelt only on the sad consequences of their conduct, not on its guilt.—*(Cowper.)*

554. So Virgil, Georg. iv. 481, describing the effect of the music of Orpheus:—

"Quin ipsæ stupuere domus, atque intima lethi
Tartara, cæruleosque implexæ crinibus angues
Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,
Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis."

Newton says the parenthesis, which here suspends the attention and event, gives an additional beauty.

557. This mode of expression is Homeric. Il. xi. 80:—

Ὁ δε νοσφι λιασθεις
Των αλλων απανευθε καθεζετο κυδει γαιων.

[illegible] The use of these words [illegible] more beautiful in the address of an orator to men, than to express the manners of these barbarians. He refers to the customs of the ancient and contemporaneous and to subjects of the greatest among the modern philosophers.

[illegible] Ver. [illegible]

> In vain [illegible]
> [illegible]

[illegible] This elegant description gives a correct classic definition of the meaning of these five words mentioned in the Greek and Latin verses as having nothing to [illegible] Ὕδωρ or Ὑγρὸν from ὑγρός, is derived from ὕειν, to rain. Ἄναρχον from ἀνά and ἀρχή, is without principle. Πλημμύρα from πλήθω, is inflation. Ἄπειρον, infinite. Ἄβυσσος from βυθός, the bottomless. Ἄπλετον is rolling or flowing from the verb πέλω.

[illegible] Ver. [illegible] Ver. [illegible]

> [illegible]
> [illegible]

Ver. 626. Sarbanes was a king of the Assyrians [illegible] and the Sarbanian lake in Assyria, a city of Egypt, in one of the most eastern mouths of the Nile. It was surrounded on all sides by a ridge of sand, which, rising into the waters by high winds, is likewise the case in the Sarbanian lake. See Herod. ii. [illegible] Strab. xvi. [illegible] Ver. 627. In the Sarbanian lake Typhon is to be supposed. See Diod. Sicul. b. i. c. 11.

629. "Burns from." *Fervet*, an old word for *burns*. The parching air burns with heat. So Virg. Georg. i. 93: "Bosea penetrabile frigus adurat;" and Psalm xlii. 20, 21. "The cold north wind burneth the wilderness and consumeth the grass as fire." (N.) Here I may observe, that *penetrabile*, in this passage of Virgil, is to be taken actively for *penetrans*. There are instances in the ancient classics of this transposed meaning of participles from passive to active, and from active to passive: there is a remarkable one in that phrase of Horace, Od. iii. 3, b. I. "oceano *dissociabili*." Milton occasionally takes this liberty.

630. "Harpy-footed Furies." There is no impropriety in applying "*harpy-footed*" to "*Furies*." Celæno, the harpy, (*Æn.* iii. 252) calls herself "the greatest [illegible] the Furies." The scholiast explains the passage—"Furies, [illegible] punish criminal men."

631. Jerome terms Milton servum [illegible] of parliament & versibus [illegible] from Rex i. col. from the Latin [illegible] of Jer. xxx. 8. "Shall no more [illegible] shall [illegible] strangers [illegible] more serving." So Servius and other interpreters. In the same sense of parliament a messenger in Shakspeare, Hen. IV. —

> —— [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]

by and Dante, Inferno ii. 94. The latter was current in Milton's time. —

632. This is a fine allegory to show that there is an impetuousness in evil actions, being a part of the punishment of the damned. "Fan with storms." "*Fera* warring." Ver. v. 444. Medusa was one of the Furies whose locks entwined with snakes were so terrible to look on, that they turned the beholder into stone. Hymen Hays, v. 421 was terrible, when he visited the infernal regions, or seems more so the subjects of the infernal heroes; but I was afraid says in Proserpine might send her Gorgon.—

> [illegible]
> [illegible]

634. "Tartarus a horrid stream impetus [illegible]" Ver. i. 2 sec.

621. The commentators say that the time and labour in pronouncing this rough verse, which consists of monosyllable terms, each conveying a distinct idea, are expressive of the ruggedness and difficulty of the journey. Burke, On the Sublime and Beautiful, says that the high idea caused by the word "death," annexed to the others, which is raised higher by what follows. "A universe of death," raises a great degree of the sublime.

628. Addison seems to disapprove of the introduction of these fictitious beings in hell. But, as Newton has well observed, Milton had such high authority as Virgil, Æn. vi. 273—281; Seneca, Hercul. Fur. 686; Statius Thebais vii. 47; Claudian in Rufin. i. 30; and Spenser, Fairy Queen, ii. 7, 21.

631. It appears, from i. 225, that he already had wings on, and that they were always on: when had he put them off? "Puts on" is here used, as *induo* in Latin sometimes is, to signify to *prepare*, to *get ready for use*. This, I think, is the

simplest mode of solution. See note, b. v. 285.

634. So Æn. v. 217:—

"*Redit* iter liquidum, celeres *neque commovet alas.*"

See Note, v. 285.

635. This simile has justly been considered eminently grand and picturesque. Satan, "towering high" with expanded wings, is compared, not to a single ship, however large, under spread sails; but, as giving a nobler image, to a whole fleet of the largest ships at that time known, the Indiamen, or vessels trading with India, seen just as a fleet, when sailing closely, notoriously appears in the distance, "hanging in the clouds." The length of the Indiamen's voyage will convey the idea of Satan's distant expedition; and the foreign names give a more dignified cast to the similitude.—"Bengala," in Milton's time a powerful kingdom, is now one of the provinces of British India, Bengal.—"Ternate, and Tidore," two of the Molucca Islands.—"Equinoctial winds," the trade winds that blow about the equinox.—"Æthiopian," the part of the Indian ocean bordering on Æthiopia.—"The Cape," the Cape of Good Hope.—"The pole," the north pole, northward.—"Stemming nightly," *i. e.* working on against the current at night, expresses Satan's laborious flight in the dark against all opposition.—*(N.)*

650. Virgil, Æn. vi. 574:—

——— "Cernis custodia qualis
Vestibulo sedeat? facies quæ limina servet?
Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
Sævior intus habet sedem."

The Italian and old English poets have dealt in allegories of this sort; but Milton has not only concentrated, but improved what was excellent in all of them, in this famous allegory, of which the learned Atterbury, in a letter to Pope, says, "I challenge you to show me any thing equal to the allegory of Sin and Death, either as to the greatness and justice of the invention, or the height and beauty of the colouring." See Spenser's description of Error in the mixed shape of a woman and serpent, F. Q. I. i. 14, and of Echidna, VI. vi. 10; Dante, Inferno 17.—*(N., T., Wart.)* James i. 15: "When Lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finished, bringeth forth Death."—*(R.)*

660. See Ovid, Met. xiv. beginning; Virgil, Æn. iii. 424.

662. A superstitious belief in this circumstance was not exploded in Milton's time. The ancients believed that the moon was greatly affected by magical practices; and the Latin poets called the eclipses of the moon, *labores lunæ.*—*(Rich.)*

663. Thus the witches in Macbeth are represented as riding through the air.

667. Fairy Queen, VII. vii. 46:—

"But after all came Life, and lastly *Death*;
Death with most grim and grisly visage seen—
Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,
Ne aught to see, but like a shade to ween,
Unbodiëd, unsoul'd, unheard, unseen."
(Th.)

Euripides, in his tragedy of *Alcestis*, personifies *Θανατος*, or *Death*; a passage that Warton thinks Milton had in his eye. Andreini, too, in his *Adamo*, makes *Death* a person; and perhaps, says Todd, he had him in view; but whether *Death* here was an imitation or an original creation of the fancy, it is acknowledged on all hands that his description has many masterly touches of horrible magnificence, which are unequalled.

670. Like the ghost in Homer (Od. xi. 605):—

——— ὁ δ' ερεμνῃ νυκτι εοικως
Γυμνον τυξον εχων, και επι νευρῃφιν οϊστον,
Δεινον παπταινων, αιει βαλεοντι εοικως.—*(N.)*

675. Fairy Queen, I. vii. 8:—

——— "His monstrous enemy
With sturdy steps came stalking in his sight,
An hideous giant, horrible, and hie,
That with his tallness seem'd to threat the skie:
The ground eke groaned under him for dread."

See Il. vii. 211.

See Ariosto, Orl. Fur. vii. 5, 6, D.—*(Bowles.)*

678. The subtlety and hypercriticism that would find absurdity in this passage, as if it could appear from it that God and his Son were *created* beings, would render some of the finest passages in ancient and modern poetry less acceptable to our taste and judgment. Richardson thinks *except* here is used with the same liberty as *but*, 333, 336. So in his prose works, (1698, vol. i. p. 277,) "No place in heaven or earth, *except hell*, where charity may not enter." Todd says, *except* here is a verb in the imperative mood; "*include not* God and his Son; *them* he *did* fear; but created thing he valued not." So Shakspeare (Rich. III. act v. sc. 8):—

"*Richard except*, those whom we fight against
Had rather have us win than him they follow."

Peck, on the recommendation of "a learned friend," proposes the following punctuation and correction:—

"The undaunted Fiend what this might be admired;
Admired: *nought* feared, God and his Son except;
Created thing nought valued he, nor shunned."

681. Il. xxi. 150:—

Τις, πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, ὁ μὲν ἔτλης ἄφρονι ἐλθεῖν;

689. Much in the manner of the spirited speech in Spenser (Fairy Queen, VI. vi. 25):—"Art thou he, traytor," &c.—*(T.)*

693. "Conjured." In the sense of the Latin *conjuratus*, sworn together in conspiracy.

697. "Hell-doomed" is a retort for "hell-born," line 687.

699, 700. The emphasis is to be laid on *thy*, which is here a long syllable. The first foot in the next line is also a spondee.

700. "False," because he called himself a *spirit of heaven*, line 687.

708. The ancient poets frequently compare a hero in shining armour to a comet. So Æn. x. 272:—

"Non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometæ
Sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor.
Ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus ægris
Nascitur, et lævo contristat lumine cœlum."

But this comet is so large as to *fire the length* of the constellation *Ophiuchus*, (*i. e.* "Serpent-holder," the Greek name of Serpentarius,) a length of about forty degrees in the northern hemisphere. Extraordinary events, generally of a disastrous kind, were supposed to follow on the appearance of comets, eclipses, and the like. See i. 598. So Tasso compares Argantes to a comet, and mentions the like fatal effects (VII. 52.) See also Fairy Queen, III. i. 16.—*(N., T.)* The comparison here, in my opinion, has nothing to do with shining armour, but refers to the indignant flashing of his countenance.

716. The simile is very properly drawn from the Caspian Sea, as being very tempestuous, and in a dreary, solitary, and savage region. See Hor. ii. Od. ix. 2. —*(Bowles.)*

721. *i.e.* on the appearance of Christ.

722—724. It is the same turn of phrase in Iliad vii. 273:—

Καὶ νύ κε δὴ ξίφεσσιν αὐτοσχεδὸν ὀυτάζοντο
Εἰ μὴ κήρυκες Διὸς ἀγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
Ἦλθον—
Μηκέτι παιδὸ φίλω πολεμίζετε.—*(Stil.)*

729. "Bend that dart." Bend, sometimes, as here, is applied to a weapon in the sense of getting it ready, and directing it to the object; by a metaphor borrowed from bending a bow.—*(Johnson.)*

730. "And know'st for whom." *i. e. at the same time that* thou knowest for whom. This is the reading of Milton's own Edition.—*N.* Tickell reads the words with a note of interrogation.

743. The first foot is a spondee.

758. Sin is rightly made to spring out of the head of Satan, as Minerva or Wisdom did out of Jupiter's.

768. "Fields" is elsewhere used by Milton for battles.

771. Milton always accents the third syllable of *empyrean*, and the second of *empyreal*.—*(N.)* The word means, *the seat of fire*, from ἐν and πῦρ.

772. The emphatic repetition of *down* is here a great poetic beauty.—*(Stil.)*

786. Æn. xii. 919: "Telum fatale coruscat."

789. Æn. ii. 53,

"Insonuere cavæ gemitumque dedere cavernæ"
(H.)

There is a beautiful repetition similar to this of *death*, in Virgil (Georg. iv. 525), where the floating head of Orpheus called out "Eurydice," which the banks of the river echoed all along:—

"Tum quoque marmoreum caput a cervice revulsum
Gurgite quum medio portans Œagrius Hebrus
Volveret, *Eurydicen* vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
Ah miseram *Eurydicen*! anima fugiente, vocabat;
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ."
(N.)

809. Milton with great propriety makes the fallen Angels, and Sin here, attribute events to fate, without any mention of the Almighty.—*(N.)* This was intended as some palliation for themselves, as if a power superior to God had ruled them.

813. "Dint," or dent, means *stroke*.

817. See a similar structure of sentence in the beginning of Satan's opening speech (12), and in Beelzebub's (311). Satan having now learned "his lore," or *lesson*, changes with great art his address into blandishment.

837. "Be this." *i. e. if* this, or *whether* this be; *sit*, in Latin, is thus used sometimes without the conjunction.

841, 842. Somewhat in the same way Hesiod (Opp. et Dies, 102) mentions the journeyings of diseases:—

Νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἠδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
Αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι, κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
Σιγῇ.—*(Stil.)*

842. "Buxom." Yielding, elastic. Some say, quick and active.

846. Several of the most eminent poets have attempted to describe a hideous

smile. Hom. Il.: μειδιοων βλοσυροισι προσωπασι. But none so successfully as Milton here.—*(N.)*

864. The emphatic word is *thou*; hence the first foot is a trochee.

868. "The gods who live at ease." A translation of Homer's words, θεοι ρεια ζοωντες.

871. As the opening of hell's gates was an event so important to the future history of the poem, he describes it minutely and with the most masterly force of expression; the laborious motion of the feet, and the harsh discordant sound of the versification, and the sudden breaks, heightened by the frequent use of the letter *r*, are admirably expressive of the sense; and then when they are once flung open and for ever, the lines flow on with a pomp and swell which it requires a volume of breath to read with adequate effect. So after, when he describes the illimitable ocean, the various pauses which the mind is obliged to make, express so many sections, so to speak, of its boundless proportions, and its many ingredients. How petty, says Newton, very justly, is the following description of hell's gates by Virgil compared with this, Æn. vi.:—

——"Horrisono stridentes cardine sacræ
Panduntur portæ."

874. "Portcullis," qu. *porta clausa*, was a huge wooden gate resembling a harrow, formerly hung over the gateways of fortified places, ready to be let down suddenly in case of surprise.—*(Mas.)*

888. Read a comma after "stood."

898. Milton has borrowed the elements of Ovid's description of Chaos (Met. i. 18, &c.) avoiding all his puerilities.

The light, shifting sands of Barca and Cyrene, ancient names of desert tracts in the north of Africa, are thus described by Addison in his tragedy of Cato:—

"Seest where yon vast Numidian plains extend?
Sudden the impetuous hurricanes descend—
Sweep through the air—in circling eddies play—
Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away—
The helpless traveller with wild surprise
Sees the dry desert all around him rise,
And smothered in the dusky whirlwind—dies."

910, 911. Lucretius, v. 260:—"Omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulchrum." Compare Spenser's description of Chaos (Fairy Queen, III. vi. 36.—*(T., Th.)*

917. The period properly begins at 910, but the poet lingers in his description of Chaos, as Satan lingers to reconnoitre, before he proceeds. "Stood and looked," the same as *standing looked*. The first part of the sentence depends on the latter verb, as 5, 368.—*(R., P.)*

919. "Frith." *Fretum*, a strait.

924 Hor. iii. Od. iii.: "Si fractus illabatur orbis."

927. "Vans," from *vannus*, properly a fan, or large winnowing machine. So v. 269.

929. Hor. iii. Od. ii.: "Spernit humum fugiente penna."

932, 933. Hesiod (Theog. 739):—

Χασμα μεγ' ουδε κε παντα τελεσφορον εις ενιαυτον
Ουδας ικοιτ', ει πρωτα πυλεων εντοσθε γενοιτο·
Αλλα κεν ενθα και ενθα προ θυελλα θυελλη
Αρταλεη.—*(T.)*

"Pennons," from the Latin *penna*, pinions.

939, 940. So Lucan (Pharsal. ix. 304) "Syrtis—in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit."—*(H.)*

942. It behoves him now to use every effort, as galleys hard pressed do. "Remis velisque," was a proverb for *might and main*.—*(H.)*

943. Gryphons were fabulous creatures, with the wings and head of an eagle, and the body of a lion; and are said to guard gold. The Aremaspians were said to be a one-eyed people in Scythia, who adorned their hair with gold. See Lucan. Pharsal. iii. 280. Herodotus (iii. 116, iv. 27,) and other authors relate that there were continual wars between them and the Gryphons about gold, the Gryphons guarding it, and the Arimaspians taking it whenever they had an opportunity. See Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 2. —*(N.)* Æschylus has a reference to them (Prom. Vinct. 820.):—

Οξυστομους γαρ Ζηνος ακραγεις κυνας
Γρυπας φυλαξαι, τον τε μουνωπα στρατον
Αριμασπον ιπποβαμον', οι χρυσορρυτον
Οικουσιν αμφι ναμα Πλουτωνος πορον.—*(Stil.)*

948. The difficulty, irregularity, and uncertainty of Satan's voyage are incomparably expressed by the number of monosyllables and pauses here. There is a memorable instance of the roughness of a road admirably described by a single verse in Homer (Il. xxiii. 116) where there are a number of breaks as here:—

Πολλα δ' ανανται, καταντα, παραντα τε, δοχμια τ', ηλθον.

So Spenser (Fairy Queen, I. xi. 28) describes the distress of the Red Cross Knight:—

" Faint, weary, sore, emboyled, grieved, brent,
With heat, toil, wounds, arms, smart, and inward fire."—(*N.*, *Th.*)

This great beauty is heightened by the irregular combination, and studied disorder in the opposition of the words.

956. " Nethermost abyss." Though the *throne* of Chaos was above hell, and consequently part of the abyss was so, yet a part of the abyss into which Satan fell in his voyage was also far *below* it; so that, considered altogether, it was nethermost in respect to hell. Therefore there is no impropriety in applying " nethermost abyss" to Chaos.—(*P.*)

962. μελαμπεπλος νυξ. (Eurip. Ion.) See Spenser's fine description of night, which is very much in the taste of this allegory. Fairy Queen, I. v. 20.—(*N.*)

965. Demogorgon was a frightful, nameless deity which the ancients thought capable of producing the most terrible effects, and whose name they dreaded to pronounce. He is mentioned as of terrible power in incantations. See Lucan, Pharsal. vi. 744; Stat. Theb. iv. 514. Spenser, Fairy Queen, I. v. 22; Tasso, Gier. Lib. xiii. 10. Virgil (Æn. vi. 273) places similar imaginary beings within hell.—(*N.*)

972. " Secrets." Like *secreta* sometimes, secret places. So Virg. (Geor. iv. 403):—

" In *secreta* senis ducam quo fessus ab undis
Se recipit."

Æn. vi. 101:—

——" Horrendæque procul *secreta* Sibyllæ,
Antrum immane petit."

So Spenser (Fairy Queen, VI. xii. 24):—

" And searched all their cells and *secrets* near."

1001. " Your intestine broils." All the early editions read "*our:*" but it is so evident from the following verses that the encroachments here mentioned were the creation of *Hell*, and of the *new world*, and the " broils," those between God and the rebel angels, that the best modern editions read "*your.*" " Weakening" here agrees with " broils," and therefore they should not be separated by a comma, as in the early editions.—(*P.*)

1005. There is mention made in Homer (Il. viii. 20) of Jupiter's golden chain, by which he could draw up the gods, the earth, the sea, and the universe, and hold them suspended, but they could not draw him down.—(*N.*)

1017. Argo was the first long ship ever seen in Greece, in which Jason and his companions sailed for Colchis, to fetch the golden fleece. *Bosphorus*, the straits of Constantinople, from βους πορος, *the ox ford*, the sea being there so narrow that cattle are said to have swam across it.—The "justling rocks," two rocks at the entrance into the Black Sea, called by the Greeks *Symplegades*, from συμπληγδην, *dashing together;* which Milton very properly translates, the *justling rocks*, because they were so near, that at a distance, from the rocking of the sea, they seemed to open and shut, and justle one another, as the ship varied its course this way and that. Hence, at one time they were supposed to float, and were called *Sundromades*, and by Juvenal (xv. 19) " concurrentia saxa."—(*N.*) They were sometimes called *Cuaneai*, or *dark blue*, from the mist that hung constantly over them. The voyages of Jason through the Symplegades, and of Ulysses through Scylla and Charybdis, were the most famous and hazardous in all antiquity.

1019. " Larboard." Ulysses sailing on the *larboard* (to the *left hand*, where Scylla was) did thereby shun Charybdis, which was on the *starboard*, or right hand. Virgil, Æn. iii. 425, describes Scylla as a whirlpool, " Naves in saxa trahentem." (See the whole description.) Scylla is a rock in a small bay on the Italian coast, into which the tide runs so strongly as to draw in the ships which are within the compass of its force, and either dash them against the rocks or swallow them in the eddies; for, when the currents so rush in, they are driven back by the rock at the farther end, and so form an eddy or whirlpool.—(*P.*) See Athan. Kircher's account.

1022. The repetition of the words are designed to fix the reader's attention to the labour and difficulty; and the closing of the repetition with the word " he" seems to convey a greater idea of it. Even " he," the most adventurous, sagacious, and powerful of the spirits, found it so.

1039. " Her," *i. e.* nature's works.

1042. See Seneca, Hercul. Fur. 668.—(*T.*)

1043. " Holds the port;" " occupat portum." (Hor.)

1046. See Tasso, Gier. Liber. i. 14.—(*T.*)

1049. " Opal," a sort of pale bluish stone, reflecting every colour when turned to the light.

1052. " Pendent world," here, is not the earth, but the new creation, or heaven and earth, the whole orb of fixed stars,

to which the earth is but a point in comparison. (See 1004.) Besides, Satan does not yet see this earth; see iii. 542, 722. "This pendant world," or the newly created universe, appeared, when seen afar off, not bigger than the smallest star, and even the smallest star near the moon, the superior light of which makes any star near appear small and indistinct.—*(N., B.)* I have not hesitated to expunge the comma after "magnitude," which all the editions retain, and by retaining which it would appear that "close" refers to "world," whereas it refers to "the moon."

BOOK III.

If Milton's majesty anywhere forsakes him, it is in those parts of his poem where the divine persons, especially the Almighty, are introduced as speakers. He dares not give his imagination full play, but confines himself with a kind of awe to such thoughts and expressions as are to be drawn from Scripture, and the works of the most orthodox divines. The beauties then of these speeches are not so proper to fill the mind with sentiments of grandeur, as they are with devotion and religious fear. The beauty of the speeches in the third book consists in that shortness, force, and perspicuity of style in which the poet has couched the great mysteries of Christianity, and the whole dispensation of Providence with respect to man; the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free will, and grace; as also the great points of incarnation and redemption. These subjects being in themselves dry to the generality of readers, the concise and clear manner in which he has treated them is very much to be admired; as is likewise the particular art which he has made use of in interspersing all those graces of poetry which the subject was capable of receiving.—*(Ad.)*

1—4. Or may I without blame express thee, call thee the coeternal beam of the Eternal God? The ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they addressed their deities; and Milton, in imitation of them, questions whether he should address *light* as the first-born offspring of heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the Eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal stream whose fountain no one knew. But as the second appellation seems to ascribe to light a proper eternity, or an eternity equal to that of God, he very justly doubts whether he may use that without blame.—"Since God is light." So 1 John i. 5: "God is light."—"And never but in unapproached light dwelt from eternity." So 1 Tim. vi. 16: "Who (God) alone hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach, no man can see, or hath seen."—*(N.)*

6. Solomon says this of wisdom: Wisd. of Solom. vii. 25, 26.—*(N.)*

7. This is a pure Latinism—dost thou delight rather to be called, dost thou rather like to hear the title of, "pure ethereal stream?" *Audio* in Latin, and *ακουω* in Greek, sometimes mean, hear oneself called; hence to be named or called, though the party may not hear it. So *bene audire, male audire, ευ ακουειν, κακως ακουειν*, to be praised, to be abused. So Hor. ii. Sat. vi.

"Matutine pater, seu Jane *libentius audis.*"

Milton so uses the word in his Areopagitica.

So Fairy Queen, I. v. 23:—

"If old Aveugle's sons so *evil hear.*"

11, 12. The world was only in a state of fluidity when the light was created. (See Gen. i. 2, 3.) "The *void* and formless infinite," *i. e.* boundless Chaos, destitute, not of matter, but of any *formed being.* This is, too the meaning of the words, (Gen. i. 2.) "The earth was without *form, and void.*" Fairy Queen, I. i. 39:—

"The rising world of waters, wide and deep."
(N., P.)

14. "Escaped." Having escaped; classically used like *elapsus.*

16. "Utter darkness," *το σκοτος εξωτερον*, the *outer* darkness mentioned in Scripture—the darkness of hell. "Middle darkness," is the darkness of the middle gulf between hell and heaven.—*(N.)*

17, 18. Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is extant; he also wrote of

the Creation sat at Chaos. See Apollonius Rhodius, i. 496. Orpheus was inspired by his mother Calliope, the heathen muse, &c. Milton, in the following muse therefore he wants that he sung with other notes than Orpheus, though the subjects were the same. Heb. — "Orpheus, you [illegible] a phrase taken from Apollon. Rhod. i. 141 —

[illegible]
Warr.

21. "Though hard and rare." Though difficult and unusual the achievement. the words are classically used in the occasional sense of *durus* and *rarus*. Newton says this sentence is manifestly an allusion to Virg. Ecl. vi. 128.—

"Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est: pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Dis genuti potuere."

26, 28. As being uncertain of the real cause of his blindness, he describes the two great causes according to what was then known, *i. e.* the *gutta serena* and *cataract*. See his own account of the malady in his letter to Phalaras in the notice of his Life. The *gutta serena* was thought to be a transparent watery humour distilling upon the optic nerve, making little change in the eye to appearance. A cataract was supposed to begin with *suffusion* or dimness gradually thickening like a cloud over the sight.

29. Georg. ii 475.—

——— "Dulces ante omnia musæ,
Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore."

30. "Flowery brooks." The brooks Kedron and Siloah flowed at the foot of Mount Sion. He was, he says, (as will be seen by a reference to his "Life") always delighted with the study of the ancient poets, but his chief delight was in the songs of the prophets on Sion, and in the Holy Scriptures; and in these he meditated day and night, notwithstanding his blindness.—*(N., P.)*

32. "Nor forget." The same as *and not* forget: *nor* here is used for *nd not*, in the sense that *nec* and *neque* are sometimes used, *i. e.* for *et non*. Every classical scholar knows there are many instances where the conjunction disjunctive negative is to be resolved into its parts.

33. "Those other two." Though he mentions *four*, yet there are but two whom he particularly desires to resemble, both of whom he distinguishes with the epithet "blind," to make the likeness more striking—*Homer*, sometimes called Mæonides, his favourite author: and *Thamyris*. Thamyris, now so little known, his writings having been lost,) is mentioned by Homer, Il. ii. 595: and Eustathius, the learned commentator of Homer, ranks him with Orpheus and Musæus, the most celebrated poets and musicians of antiquity. Plato mentions his hymns with honour in the beginning of his eighth book of Laws: and towards the conclusion of the last book of his Republic feigns, in the principles of transmigration, that the soul of Thamyris passed into a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth, and invented the Doric mood or measure, according to Pliny, vii. 57. Plutarch, in his Treatise on Music, says, that he had the finest voice of any man of his time, and that he wrote a poem of the war of the *Titans* with the gods: and from Suidas likewise we learn that he composed a poem on the generation of the world: which subjects being of near kin to Milton's, might occasion the mention of him in this place. It seems then, that having at first only intended to mention these two, Milton, by the force of association of ideas, mentioned, currente calamo, *Tiresias* and *Phineus*; the first a Theban, (familiar to the readers of Lucian, and often mentioned in our extant classical authors,) the other a king of Arcadia: both famous blind *prophets* and *poets* of antiquity; for the word *prophet*, προφήτης, sometimes comprehends both characters, as *vates* does in Latin.—*(N.)*

Some learned commentators would read "those other *too*," in order to get rid of the contradiction between the word *two*, and the enumeration of *four*. But Milton wrote "*two*;" and I think Newton's solution the most probable. Pearce, followed by some good modern critics, would transpose the words Tiresias and Phineus on account of the prosody, and read the line thus:—

"And Phineus and Tiresias, prophets old."

This I think an improvement.

38. A beautiful and concise imitation of Virgil's simile of the nightingale, Georg. iv. 511; omitting the circumstance of the nightingale's lamentation for her ravished brood, as being unsuited to him:—

"Qualis populeâ mœrens philomela sub umbrâ
Flet noctem, ramisque sedens miserabile carmen
Integrat, et mœstis late loca questibus implet."

See Odyss. xix. 518.

49, 50. Pearce fancying an absurdity in the present reading, which is Milton's own, proposes to point the passage by a semicolon after the words "blank" and "rased," and read "*all* nature's," for "*of* nature's," thus making these two lines ablatives absolute. Newton says some such emendation were to be wished, as "otherwise, it is not easy to say what the conjunction *and* copulates *wisdom* to." Thus Todd defends the text: "There is little difficulty in this passage if we consider *wisdom* as the *genitive* case; 'of nature's works and *of* wisdom.'" In my opinion the emendation of Pearce, however ingenious, is unnecessary; while Todd's defence of the text is absurd. As *universal* is here the inseparable adjunct of *blank*, and, as the words, "at *one* entrance quite shut out," serve to show that wisdom was *not* shut out at *every* entrance, but only partially, it would be a folly, and involve a contradiction of terms, to make *wisdom* the genitive of *blank*—it would make Milton say, a *universal* blank of *partially* excluded wisdom. The explanation of the text then, I think, is simply this—*wisdom* is the ablative case coupled by *and* with *blank*. The works of nature (he means *external* nature) were to him a *universal* blank by reason of his loss of the sense of sight, the only channel through which a knowledge of external objects could reach the mind; but not so wisdom, which was only shut out to him *at one* entrance, *i. e. sensation*, leaving the other great entrance, *reflection* (and these two, according to Locke, are the great avenues of ideas to the mind, and the fountain of all our knowledge), still open. Thus, in place of the book of general knowledge open to him, he was presented with the book of nature's works *totally* shut up, and with the book of wisdom *partially* so. The construction therefore is—"presented with a *universal* blank of *nature's* works, and (with) *wisdom* at *one* entrance quite shut out."

56. See Tasso, Gier. Liber. i. 7, for a similar picture of the Almighty's looking down from Heaven.—*(Th.)* So Æn. i.: "Sic constitit vertice cœli."

59. "Their works," *i. e.* the operations of the devils.—*(N.)*

61. He here alludes to the *beatific vision*, in which many divines suppose the happiness of the saints to consist in Heaven.—*(Th.)*

75. The universe appeared to Satan to be a solid globe encompassed on all sides, but whether with air or water he was uncertain, yet without any firmament, *i. e.* any sphere or fixed stars over it, as over the earth.—*(N.)*

80. In this, and other speeches of God the Father, Milton has followed the doctrine of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John, &c. with great exactness, and has generally kept to their very expressions.—*(Stil.)*

84. "Interrupt." Adjective, "containing a chasm."—*(Johnson.)* Used in the occasional sense of the Latin *interruptus*, broken through; as "murus interruptus," Cæsar, Bel. Gal. vii.; "interrupti pontes," Tacit. Hist.; "itinera interrupta," Tacit. Annal.

101. "Failed." Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line show that the author gave it *fell*, not *failed*.—*(B.)*

108. "Reason also is choice." When two or more things are proposed, it is the business of Reason to choose, *i. e.* determine speculatively, which is the best; as it is the business of Wisdom to determine *practically*. A mode of expression taken from Plato.—*(Stil.)*

117. "If" here does not imply doubt or uncertainty, but is used, as it sometimes is in the best authors, in the sense of *though*.—*(N.)* So *si* in Latin: Ter. Eun. I. i. 4, "Redeam? non, *si* me obsecret."

121. "Immutably foreseen." Bentley says the two ideas here cannot unite; and proposed to read "immutably *foredoomed*." Pearce, agreeing in the objection, proposes "*immutable* foreseen." Newton says "immutably foreseen" seems to mean, so foreseen as to be immutable. I think the present reading is defensible and right, "*immutably*" being metaphorically taken for, perpetually, *constantly*, steadily; *immutabilis* is sometimes used in this sense. (See Facciolati's Lexicon Omnis Latinitatis.) I think it quite wrong to propose emendations, if Milton's own text be capable of explanation.

135. Homer and the ancient poets, consistently with their notions of the Supreme Being, when they represent the Deity speaking, describe a scene of terror and consternation: the heavens, seas, and earth tremble, &c. But Milton, consistently with the mild, benevolent idea of the Deity, upon the christian scheme, has, very judiciously, made the words of the Almighty diffuse fragrance and delight all round him. There is a passage in Ariosto, c. xxix. st. 30, in the same taste with this of Milton.—*(Th.)*

140. So Heb. i. 3: "The brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person."—*(H.)*

147. "Innumerable sound of hymns." So i. 101: "innumerable force of spirits." In both these cases "innumerable" is to be joined to "spirits" and to "hymns."—*(H.)* Like "magna terga boum."—*Virg. Æn.*

151. "Thy youngest son." This is a purely Homeric phrase: τηλυγετης, the child of old age, or the youngest born, is often mentioned by Homer as the peculiar object of parental affection and care.

165. The arrangement of this speech is entirely Demosthenic: first a question is put hypothetically—the question on which the whole argument depends;—then this leading question is split, or diverges into a number of direct ones, all subsidiary to the first, (which are often to be taken, in the development of the argument, parenthetically, as here);—and then at last the conclusion, as answer, comes moulded to the grammatical arrangement of the antecedent. It is so here: "*should* man be lost (150) . . . so *should* thy goodness be blasphemed."—The words "that be far from thee," &c. are an imitation of Gen. xviii. 25.

173, 174. "Who will," *i. e.* whoever wishes; "who" is here to be taken as the *particular* individual from the *universal* genus of *man*, according to the principles of logic and grammar.—"Not of will," *i. e.* not in consequence of his own wish shall he be saved.

180. It was before (178,) "upheld by me." The turn of the words here is remarkable.—*(N.)*

183. Our author thought, like some of the more moderate Calvinists, that some were elected by peculiar grace; the rest might be saved by complying with the conditions of the Gospel.—*(N.)*

186. This is a classical syntax of a very unusual kind. It is a principle laid down by the Latin grammarians, that a verb governing in the *active* voice two cases, one being an accusative, governs still the *accusative* in the *passive:* accordingly, "state" must be the accusative or objective case after "warned." The conjunction copulative "and," in place of coupling, according to its strict use and meaning, a *like case*, mood, or tense, couples sometimes an accusative *case* with an infinitive *mood;* "state" and "to appease" both depending on "warned." The following passage will be a sufficient classical authority, Æn. vi. 620:—

— "*justitiam* moniti, et *non temnere* divos."

But strictly speaking, and utterly abandoning the subtleties of the grammarians, I may say that the accusative case, as in Greek, is governed by a preposition understood, (*secundum*, κατα): as such phrases are elliptical.

200. "Seeing they may not see, and hearing may not understand."—*(John.)*

208. "Sacred and devote." *Sacred* here is used in the sense that *sacer* sometimes is in Latin—*accursed* on earth, and therefore dedicated as a propitiatory offering to the divinity.

215. See 1 Peter iii. 18.—*(N.)*

217. The phrase is quite Homeric.—

Οἱ δ' αρα παντες ακην εγενεντο σιωπη.

See Rev. viii. 1.

231. "Unprevented." Unanticipated. Milton, on Scriptural authority, uses the verb *prevent*, and *prevenient* elsewhere, in the Latin sense of *prævenio*, to come before, to anticipate. "Grace unprevented," here, is grace not preceded by merit or supplication; but which does itself precede, as it is a free gift. See 2 Tim. i. 9; Psalm lxxxviii. 13.—*(Rich.)*

236. The frequent and earnest repetition of "me" here is very much like that in Virg. Æn. ix. 427.—

"*Me, me:* adsum qui feci, in *me* convertite ferrum." . . . .
"Figite *me*, si qua est pietas, in *me* omnia tela Conjicite, O Rutuli; *me* primum absumite ferro."—*(N.)*

244. So John v. 26.

248. So Psalm xvi. 10: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy Holy One to see corruption:" applied by St. Peter, (Acts ii. 20,) to our Saviour's resurrection.—*(N.)*

252. "O *death!* where is thy *sting?* O grave! where is thy victory?" 1 Cor. xv. 55.

255. "Maugre," in despite of. See Psalm lxviii. 18.—*(N.)*

259. 1 Cor. xv. 26.—*(N.)*

265. So Psalm xvi. 11.—*(T.)*

266. This passage has been frequently quoted as an instance of the power and accuracy with which Milton sustains the character of his personages. The goodness and mildness of Christ are here admirably pourtrayed.

269. An allusion to Psalm xl. 6 and the following verses.—*(N.)*

282. "Their nature," *i. e. the nature of them whom* thou only canst redeem.

284. "Time" here is used in the occasional sense of *tempus*, *καιρος*, a proper occasion, or fit time, in opposition to *dies*, length of time, or *χρονος*.

287. 1 Cor. xv. 22.—*(N.)*

291. "Imputed," *i. e.* ascribed to them. This passage is quoted by Johnson as an illustration of one definition of *impute*—"to reckon to one what does not properly belong to him."

294. Milton here, as elsewhere, when speaking the doctrines of Christianity, adopts the style of St. Paul.—*(N.)*

298. "Heavenly love," on the part of Father and Son, gave a price for the redemption of mankind, *i. e.* the death of the Son; and by virtue of that price, really redeemed them.—*(Warb., N.)* See Matt. xx. 28.—*(Gil.)*

301. There are many passages in these speeches of the Father and Son, where the *fall* is spoken of as a thing past, (see 151, 181,) because all things, even future ones, are present to the Divine mind.—*(P.)*

317. Matt. xxviii. 18.—*(N.)*

318. "Assume thy merits." A phrase similar to that of Horace, iii. Od. xxx. 14.

"Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis."—*(N.)*

321. Here the speech begins to swell into a considerable degree of sublimity, which is quite consistent with the picture conveyed by the Scriptures of the Supreme Being.—*(D.)* See Philip. ii. 10; Matt. xxv. 30, &c.; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Rev. xx. 11; xxi. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 51; 2 Pet. iii. 12; John v. 23; Psalm xcvii. 7; Heb. i. 6.—*(N.)*

335. Milton often uses the well known Jewish phrase "heaven and earth," to express the whole creation.—*(P.)*

337. Virg. Ecl. iv. 9:—

"Toto surget gens aurea mundo."

344. The close of this divine colloquy, together with the hymn of angels that follows it, are mentioned by Addison and other critics as instances of the highest sublimity and of wonderful beauty, far superior to any thing of the kind in Homer or Virgil. Dunster justly remarks, that Milton still retained in the poem after he had moulded it into an epic, much of the dramatic form which at one time he intended entirely to have given it on the Grecian model—of this a chorus was a material part. For the choral parts, besides this passage, he says, we may refer to vi. 882; vii. 182, 565, 601; also to i. 666; ii. 477; x. 505. For the divine chorus singing their angelic hymns, see Isaiah vi. 3; Job xxxviii. 7.

345. Pearce says these words, down to "joy" inclusive, must be taken as the absolute case. Lord Monboddo, on the other hand, would supply the verb *shouted* or *answered*, to which "the multitude" is the subject.

348. See Dante, Parad. xxviii. 94.—*(D.)*

351. So they are represented Rev. iv. 10.—*(N.)*

352. "Amarant," *αμαραντος*, unfading; a flower of a purple velvet colour, which, though gathered, keeps its beauty, and recovers its lustre by being sprinkled with a little water. See Pliny, xxi. 11: "*Amarantus* flos symbolum est immortalitatis."—*Clem. Alex.* Milton seems to have taken this hint from 1 Pet. i. 4, "an inheritance that *fadeth not away*," *αμαραντον*; and 1 Pet. v. 4, "a crown of glory that fadeth not away," *αμαραντινον*. —*(H.)*

359. We may suppose the finest flowers to grow at the bottom of *the river of bliss*, or rather the river to roll over them sometimes to water them; much the same as iv. 240.—He calls it "*amber* stream" on account of its clearness. So Virg. Georg. iii. 522:—

—— "*Purior electro* campum petit *amnis*." *(N.)*

360. "These" refers evidently to *flowers*; so that any proposed emendation here is unnecessary, if not bad.

363. Jasper is a precious stone of several colours, (sea-green predominating most,) and much esteemed; spoken of in Scripture for its brightness. See Rev. xxi. 11, 18; Exod. xxiv. 10.—*(H., D.)* See Spenser, Fairy Queen, II. xii. 62. —*(T.)*

365. In the preceding part of the description, the choral angels are palpably active persons of the drama, (see note on 344;) and we can scarcely avoid attributing a measure, *i. e.* a movement regulated by music, to their solemn adoration, (351.) Here the measure, I suppose, was intended to cease, and the heavenly chorus prepare to sing their epode or stationary song, *i. e.* their angelic hymn, to which Milton prefixes the "preamble sweet of charming symphony."—*(D.)*

372. How superior is this to the hymn to Hercules in Virgil, Æn. viii.; which see.—*(N.)*

377. "But" here is the same as *except, unless*. Pearce refers by way of

parallel to the following passage in Ovid, Met. ii. 40:—

—— "Circum caput omne micantes
Deposuit radios, propiusque accedere jussit."

Greenwood thinks these ideas were suggested by the 33d chapter of Exodus, ver. 18, &c., where Moses begs of the Almighty to show him his glory: "And he said, Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live ..... thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen."

380. See v. 599. Milton's idea is not only poetical in the highest degree, but strictly and philosophically just. Extreme light, by overcoming the organs of sight, obliterates all objects, so as in effect to resemble darkness. Thus are two ideas as opposite as can be imagined reconciled to the extremes of both; and both, in spite of this opposite nature, brought to concur in producing the sublime.—*(Burke on the Sublime.)* See Spenser, Hymn of Heavenly Beauty; Tasso, Gier. Liber. ix. 57.—*(Th.)*

382. "Approach not." So Ov. Met. ii. 22:—

"Consistitque procul, neque enim propiora serebat
Lumina."—*(N.)*

—"Veil their eyes." So Isa. vi. 2: "I saw the Lord sitting on a throne high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple; above it stood the Seraphims; each one had six wings, *with twain he covered his face*, and with *twain* he covered his feet, and with *twain* he did fly; and one cried to another, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory."—*(N.)*

387. So John i. 18; xiv. 9.—*(N.)*

398. *i. e.* Thy powers extolled thee returning back from pursuit, and *thee only*; as he was sole victor, (vi. 880.) See note on i. 169.—*(N.)*

405, 406. The way in which this passage is explained by the modern commentators is this:—"Much more to pity inclined," is considered as a repetition of the same words before, and referred to the Father, in the style of Homer, when commands are given, or messages sent; and the word *than* is to be understood before *he*, to complete the sense. This interpretation would certainly show a great *hiatus* in the text. It is always better to interpret the text, if possible, as a perfect whole, than fly to the convenient auxiliary of understood words to fill up fancied *vacua*. I cannot help observing then, that there is no occasion for supplying any word here—that "inclined" agrees with "he" after, and "but" is used for *than*, as it is often, not only in Milton, but in ordinary discourse and writing. Thus, in plain prose:—"No sooner did thy Son perceive thee resolved not to doom man, *than* he *much more to pity inclined*, just as thou wert, offered himself to die for man's offence in order to appease thy wrath;"—the words "much more to pity inclined," originally expressive of the Father's feelings, being elegantly repeated and applied to the Son to express congeniality of sentiment. But, judicet lector.

413. Bentley proposes to read "*our* song," but (as Pearce shows) unnecessarily, for Milton rather narrates than gives the full hymn of the angels in their own words, (see 372.) Besides, the ancient chorus often spoke in the singular number, as representing one individual, or a collective body, as the case may be. Homer and Callimachus, like Milton here, at the close of their hymns promise to return to the subject.

431—441. Satan coming from hell to earth in order to destroy mankind, but lighting first on the bare convex of the world's outermost orb, *a sea of land*, as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vulture flying in quest of his prey, (tender lambs or kids new yeaned,) from the barren rocks of Tartary to the fruitful plains and streams of India; but lighting in his way on the barren plains of Sericana (a region between China to the East, and Imaus to the West) which were in a manner *a sea of land* too, the country being so smooth, bare, and open, that carriages were driven along there (as travellers report) by sails and wind. Imaus is a celebrated mountain in Asia; its name, says Pliny, (vi. 21,) signifying in the language of the inhabitants, *snowy*. —*(N.)* Sir G. Staunton, a modern traveller, says, the old custom of using these vehicles made of bamboo or cane (the best material from its lightness) for the purposes of travelling and traffic is still retained on the level deserts of China. When there is no wind, the machine, which is on wheels, is drawn by a man yoked to it in front, while another behind pushes it forward and keeps it steady; but when the wind is favourable, a sail being hoisted between two poles fixed on the opposite ends of the cart, saves the labour of the man in front. (Embassy to China, 1797. See Todd.) Todd and Newton mention attempts made in England

and in the Netherlands to introduce such machines. I saw a vehicle of somewhat a similar construction, with four wheels, at the extremity of the bay of Dublin near Sandymount; which, when the wind was favourable, and the tide out, ran along for miles at great speed on the level strand, requiring no other human management than that of regulating the sails, of which there were two or three; the steersman standing with several others on a platform or the deck.

456. "Unkindly." Contrary to nature, *(Johns.)* *i. e.* contrary to the intermixture of genera or kinds.

457. "In vain" is here used as *frustra* in Latin sometimes is used, in the sense of *temere, fortuito, αυτως*, at random.

459. He refers particularly to Ariosto, Orl. Fur. xxxiv. 70, who peopled the moon with various imaginary creations, and who has been imitated by Pope in his Rape of the Lock, c. 5.—*(N.)*

460. "Argent." Silvery, from *argentum*, silver; this being suitably applied to the moon, as *golden* is to the sun.

463. *i. e.* The posterity of Seth and other patriarchs, worshippers of the true God, and therefore called the sons of God, who intermarried with the idolatrous posterity of Cain, called the daughters of men—sinful men. It is in allusion to Gen. vi. 4: "There were giants on the earth in those days; and after that when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown." —*(N.)*

471. Empedocles, a Sicilian poet and Pythagorean philosopher, thinking, it is said, that if he suddenly disappeared and his body could not be discovered, he would be esteemed as a god, threw himself into the crater of Ætna. But his sandals being thrown up by the fury of the fire, showed his folly and defeated his ambition.—*(H.)*

473. Cleombrotus, of Ambracia in Epirus, was so transported at reading Plato's book on the immortality of the soul, that he flung himself headlong into the sea, in order to enjoy the sooner the happiness of Elysium.—(*N.*)

474. "Eremites," from *ερημος*, a desert, *hermits* living in desert places. "Embryo," (*εμβρυον, fœtus; εν* and *βρυω, cresco,*) a thing still growing and unformed.

475. The Carmelite Friars (*friars*, from *frater* or *φρητηρ*, a brother), wore a large white robe, (*Mount Carmel* being their peculiar residence.) The Dominicans, called from their founder Dominick, wore a black, and the Franciscans, from their founder Francis, wore a grey one. In this and the following verses Milton severely ridicules certain opinions and practices existing during the dark ages of Christianity; one of which was, that to be clothed in a monkish habit at the time of death secured an infallible road to heaven. Thus, 484, he uses the word "wicket," or small side entrance, to ridicule the notion of St Peter's having exclusive possession of the keys of Heaven; as if he would not open the broad gate to all Christians, but slily let his own proselytes slip in at the side way. It would be tedious to enumerate the authors in prose and verse, English and Continental, Catholic and Protestant, by whom these practices and opinions have been censured.

476. *i. e.* those who went on pilgrimages to Christ's tomb in the Holy Land.

482. He speaks here according to the ancient astronomy adopted and improved by Ptolemy. "They pass the planets seven," our planetary or solar system; and, beyond this, "pass the fixed," the firmament or sphere of fixed stars; and, beyond this again, "that crystalline sphere," the crystalline heaven, clear as crystal, to which the followers of Ptolemy's system attributed a sort of vibration or shaking ("the trepidation" so much "talked" of), to account for certain believed irregularities in the motion of the stars; and, beyond this again, they passed "that first-moved," or the *primum mobile*, the sphere which was both the first moved and the first mover, communicating its motion to all the lower spheres: and beyond this was the Empyrean Heaven, the seat of God and the angels. This passage may receive further illustration from another of the same nature in Tasso, where he describes the descent of the archangel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this crystalline and all the other spheres, but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, but here it is upwards; c. ix. st. 60, 61.—*(N.)*

495. The *Limbus patrum*, as it is called, a place which the schoolmen supposed to be in the neighbourhood of hell, and in which the souls of the patriarchs were detained, and of those good men who died before our Saviour's resurrection.—*(N.)*

497. "Now," *i. e.* at the time he is speaking of, when Satan passed that way.

501. "Travelled steps." His *tired* steps. Dr. Johnson quotes this passage as an illustration of *travail*, *v.* signifying to *tire*, to *harass*. He says *travel* is generally supposed to be originally the same with *travail*, and differs only as particular from general. In some writers the word is written alike in all its senses; but it is more convenient to write *travail* for *labour*, and *travel* for *journey*.

502. See the description of the new Jerusalem in Tobit xiii. 16, and Rev. xxi. 12. See b. ii. 1049.—*(T.)*

510. The degrees mentioned before, (502,) were the *stairs* "whereon Jacob saw," &c.—*(N.)* Jacob, while on his way, according to the recommendation of his father Isaac, to his maternal grandfather Bethuel in Padan-Aram, in order to marry one of his daughters, being benighted at Luz, lay down to sleep in the open field, with a stone for a pillow; and dreamt that he saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, while angels ascended and descended on it, and God stood at the top, assuring him of his protection, and promising to give him and his posterity the land he lay on. Jacob, on awaking full of the vision, said, "This is the gate of heaven!" and setting up his stone pillow as a monumental pillar, on which he poured oil by way of consecration, vowed to dedicate to the service of God the tithe or tenth of his future substance. See Gen. xxviii.

518. See vii. 619. Milton, in his Preface, calls it "the water above the firmament."—*(Heyl.)*

521. See Luke xvi. 22; 2 Kings i. 11.—*(T.)*

534. "And his eye." Pearce thinks a verse is wanting here to describe what his eye did with choice regard. Newton thinks *passed frequent* is understood, to which "eye" is the nominative. Bentley and Todd think the reading should be "*as* his eyes," as he himself (650), on the authority of Rev. v. 6, calls the angels the eyes of God. But, I ask, may not "eye" here be the infinitive mood connected by "and" to "visit" before? *i. e.* "to visit oft those happy tribes, and *his* (*his* people) *to eye* with choice regard." This, I think, would fully explain Milton's meaning, and render correction, or words understood, unnecessary. Todd's and Bentley's interpretation would be good if the plural, *eyes*, were here used.

535. Paneas, a city (originally called Dan,) and mountain, part of Mount Libanus, whence the Jordan flowed, was the northern boundary of the Holy Land, as Beersheba was the southern towards Egypt and Arabia; hence the phrase, "from Dan to Beersheba."—*(N.)*

555. He surveys from the eastern point of the sign Libra, to Aries, the Ram, *i. e.* from east to west; for when Libra rises east, Aries sets full west in the Atlantic; —then from north to south, or "pole to pole;" because the ancients knowing more of the world from east to west than from north to south, and therefore having a much greater journey one way than the other, called one length or longitude, the other breadth or latitude. From the great elevation at which Satan stood, the shade of night appeared to him, not as a cone, as it really was, but a *circle*. This picture of Satan taking a distant survey of the world, and the mode of describing it, before he throws himself into it, and his whole flight, is eminently calculated to fill the mind with surprising and glorious ideas.—*(N, P., Ad.)*

562, 564. Though in 527 it is said that the passage was just over Paradise, yet it is evident he did not then know it, and he therefore winds about in search of it. "Marble" means, smooth and white. So *marmoreus* in Latin is often used to express smoothness and clearness, as, "marmoreum æquor," (Æn. vi. 729;) "marmoreâ cervice," (Georg. iv. 523.) Othello (act iii.) swears by "yon *marble heaven*" that he will, on suspecting the fidelity of his wife, "even though her jesses were his dearest heart-strings, whistle her off, and let her down the wind to prey on fortune." (See *N.*)

569. Compare Virg. Æn. vi. 638.

574—576. From "but" to "longitude" should be included in a parenthesis. Satan had passed the fixed stars, and was directing his course towards the sun; but it is hard to tell, says the poet, whether his course was "up or down," *i. e.* north or south, (the north being uppermost in our globe); or whether it was "by centre," towards the centre, or "eccentric," from the centre, (it not being determined whether the sun is the centre of the world or not;) or whether it was by "longitude," *i. e.* in length, east or west. See iv. 539; vii. 373.—*(N.)*

580. "In numbers," *i. e.* measures regulated by numbers; by the music attributed to the spheres or planetary system.—*(D.)* See Hor. Od. iv. 14. Pleiadum Choro. Virg. Ecl. vi. 27.

585, 586. "Though unseen" relates to "penetration," and "invisible" is the epithet to "virtue," which is a distinct thing from the penetration before mentioned, and which might have been visible though the other was not so.—*(P.)*

590. The spots in the sun are visible through a telescope; but astronomer perhaps never yet saw through his glazed optic tube, or telescope, such a spot as Satan, now that he was in the sun's orb. —*(N.)*

593. "Informed" in the occasional sense of the Latin *informatus*, animated, endued. See Facciolati's Lexicon.

597. He particularly mentioned some of the stones in Aaron's breastplate, and now he concisely includes all the rest to the number "twelve."—*(N.)*

603. "Hermes," or quicksilver, is very fluid, and hard to be fixed.—"Proteus," a sea god who could change himself into various forms, till, being closely bound, he returned at last, as the poets say, to his proper form, and answered all questions put to him. Therefore Milton says the chemists drain their various matters (through their limbecs or stills) which they work upon, through all their mutations, till Proteus-like they return to their original form; a simile well suited to their uncertain search.—*(H.)*

606. *i. e.* If the chemists can do so much, what wonder if the sun is the true philosopher's stone, or the grand elixir, when he can perform such wonders on the earth at such a distance?—*(N.)* Elixir was the liquor with which chemists hoped to transmute metals to gold.

608. The thought of making the sun the chief chemist seems taken from Shakspeare, King John, act iii.—

"To solemnize this day the glorious *sun*
Stays in his course, and plays the *alchemist*;
Turning with splendour of his precious eye
The meagre cloddy earth to glittering gold."
(*N.*)

616, 617. The first "as" is used by way of similitude, *like as*; the other "as" is used by way of reason, *forasmuch as*.—The sun or any star is said to *culminate* (from Lat. *culmen*) when it is at its utmost height for that day or night. The beams shoot all perpendicularly, and cast no shadow. Those who live under the line are called *ascii*, *ασκιοι*, because at noon they cast no shadows.—*(N., R.)*

622. The placing an angel in the sun is a circumstance very finely contrived, as it was a received doctrine among the most famous philosophers, that every orb had its *intelligence*; and as John, Rev. xix. 17, said he saw an angel in the sun.—*(Ad.)*

634. "He casts." Dr. Warburton thinks this is a metaphor taken from the founder's art. Richardson thinks it a metaphor taken from *casting* the eye about. Warton thinks it a metaphor from astrology, as, to *cast* a nativity. But in my opinion, it is the translation of the Latin *jacto*, which sometimes means to *consider*; as we say, to *cast* about in the mind. So *βαλλομαι* is sometimes used in Greek.

637. "Not of the prime." Not of the first rank.—*(N.)* Warton thinks "prime" is opposed to "stripling," and that he is describing a cherub in the *figure* and beauty of a stripling. I think Newton right. He could avoid detection better by counterfeiting the appearance of an angel of the ordinary class. An intelligence of the highest order asking such questions about matters with which he must have been presumed to be acquainted, would excite the suspicion of Uriel; besides, he says he came from the *quires* of cherubim, *i. e.* was one of the undistinguished multitude. See 694, where Uriel speaks to him as to an humble angel. See 737. See a similar description of a young angel, Fairy Queen, II. viii. 5; Gier. Liber. i. 13.

643. "Succinct," (*succinctus*,) here is to be taken metaphorically for *ready*, prepared; a metaphor taken from the ancient habit of tucking up, and girding round the loins, the loose flowing garments on a journey—not in its strict sense, as Satan had no clothes, only his wings.—*(P., N.)*

644. "Decent." Like *decens* in Latin, graceful.

650. So Zech. iv. 10. See Tobit xii. 15; Rev. i. 4; v. 6.—*(N., P.)*

652. Il. xiv. 308, in reference to the wings of Mercury: Il. xiv. 308.—*(H.)*

Οἱ μὲ οἰσουσιν ἐπι ταφρην τε και ὑγρην.—*(Stil.)*

664. "Delight and favour." The *object* of his delight and favour. So the abstract is sometimes classically used for the concrete; as Terence uses *scelus* for *scelestus* (Andr. v.): "Scelus quem hic laudat."—*(P., Up.)*

683. This is a very proper and necessary digression, as giving the reason why the sharpest sighted spirit in heaven was deceived.—*(N.)*

713. So Plato in Timæo:—*εις ταξιν αυτο ηγαγεν εξ αταξιας.—(Th.)*

716. Aristotle, and others of the ancient philosophers, supposed, as Milton does here, that "there was, besides the four elements, an ethereal *quintessence*, or *fifth* essence, out of which the stars and heavens were formed, and that its motion was orbicular." See Diog. Laert. Life of Aristotle.—(*N.*)

719, 721. *i. e.* And *seest* how they move.—"The rest," *i. e.* the rest of the fifth essence, that is not formed into stars. Lucret. v. 470:—

"Et late diffusus in omnes undique partes
Omnia sic avido complexu cætera sepsit."
(*N.*)

730. "Triform," *i. e.* when increasing with horns towards the east, when decreasing with horns towards the west, and when at the full.—(*N.*) The ancients gave her three names as well as forms—Luna in heaven, Diana on earth, and Hecate in the regions below. "Diva triformis," (Hor. iii. Od. xxii.); "Tria virginis ora Dianæ."

741. Newton thinks this sort of motion was intended by Milton as expressive of Satan's joy. Thyer thinks it is only expressive of his speed. I think it expresses both. So iv. 567:—

"I described his way
Bent on all *speed*, and marked his *aery gait*."

742. Niphates, meaning snowy, a mountain on the borders of Armenia (and part of the range of Taurus), not far from the springs of the Tigris. The poet lands Satan on this mountain because it borders on Assyria, in which the most judicious describers of Paradise place it. —(*H.*) It is worth while to compare with this the flight of Mercury, (Æn. iv.) from which several expressions are copied by Milton.

BOOK IV.

1—13. THE poet opens this book with a wish, in the manner of Shakspeare in his famous prologue to Henry V.:—

"O for a muse of fire that would ascend
The highest heaven of invention!"

and in order to raise the attention and the horror of his reader, he introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth by wishing that the same warning voice had been uttered now at Satan's first coming, which St. John (who in a vision saw the *Apocalypse* or revelation of the most remarkable events which were to befal the christian church to the end of the world,) heard when the Dragon was put to second rout; Rev. xii.—(*N.*) There are two defeats sustained by Satan, mentioned in that chapter; first, his defeat in heaven, and expulsion from it; second, his defeat by the birth of Christ; and the "woe" there uttered is in reference to his temptation and persecution of Christ's followers:—"Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the Devil is come down unto you having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." He is there also called, the Accuser:—"The accuser of our brethren is cast down, who accused them before our God day and night." See the entire chapter, which is one of the chief passages in Scripture from which Milton has taken the plot of the poem. I may observe, that, according to the arrangement of the verses there, the narrative appears very much involved; distinct events being mixed up together.—"Apocalypse." *Αποκαλυψις, a revelation*, is particularly referred to the revelation which St. John had in the island of Patmos, whither he was banished by the emperor Domitian. It was not at first received in all churches as canonical. It is not in the catalogue of the council of Laodicea: but about the fifth century it became generally established as a book of authority. In the primitive ages of Christianity there were other *apocalypses* circulated, and ascribed to various persons, as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Thomas, and Cerinthus the arch-apostate: but they were all, in the course of time, pronounced apocryphal, or unauthorized and uncanonical, and are now extinct. See Calmet.

13. "Yet" is to be connected with "rejoicing" (and not with "begins"); inflamed with rage; not rejoicing, *however*, in his speed, because, when he is

about to begin his dire attempt, horror and doubt distract him. The copulative "and" is suppressed before "begins" by asyndeton.

16. Æn. xii. 666:—

"Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit: *æstuat* ingens
Imo *in corde* pudor, mixtoque insania luctu,
Et furiis agitatus amor."

24, 25. "Memory" here is *recordatio*, the thinking or reflecting on any thing, as well present and future, as past. Thus the bees in Virgil (Geor. iv. 156) *remember* the *approaching* winter:—

"*Venturæque hyemis memores*, æstate laborem
Experiuntur, et in medium quæsita reponunt."—*(N., P.)*

27. Hom. Odyss. xiii. 197:—

Στη δ' αρ αναΐξας, και ρ' εισιδε πατριδα γαιαν·
Ωμωξεν τ' αρ' επειτ', ολοφυρομενος δ' επος ηυδα.—*(Stil.)*

30. At noon the sun is lifted up as in a tower. The metaphor is used by Virgil, in his Culex 41:—

"Igneus *ætherea* jam sol penetrârat in *arces*."
(R.)

32. When Milton designed to make only a tragedy of Paradise Lost, he intended to commence it with the first ten lines of this speech, which bears a general resemblance to the first speech of Prometheus, in the *Prometh. Vinctus* of Æschylus, and which is also indebted, as J. Warton remarks, to the opening of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides. The thought of addressing the sun, as being the most conspicuous part of the creation, like the god of this world, is very natural, when so many of the heathen nations worshipped it as such. The opening of it is incomparably bold and noble, as the conflict of passions in the subsequent part, is raised with great art.—*(N., T., Ad.)*

40. "Pride" here means the vice considered in itself, only as the tempter which raised him in his own opinion above what was just; and "ambition," that vicious excess and final aim of pride which carried him to aim at being equal to God. He lays the blame on his ambition elsewhere. See 61—92.—*(H., P.)*

44. James i. 5: "God giveth to all liberally, and *upbraideth not*."—*(T.)*

50. "'Sdained," *disdained*. Spenser often uses the word.

55. "Understood." So Cicero: "Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retulisse."—*(Bent.)*

77. Expunge the comma after "me."

79. Newton thinks *repent* would be better here, as he uses "repentance" and "repent" afterwards. Todd says, "relent" refers to Satan's *fixed* mind and *unconquerable* will (i. 97, 106). I think Todd right: *relent*, by its strict meaning, (to be less rigorous; to relax from austerity, and doggedness of purpose,) is the proper word. An obdurate being, like Satan, should first *relent*, *before* he *repented*.

81, 82. *i. e. Disdain* forbids me that word *submission*. This is a classical idiom, but of an unusual kind; *prohibeo* sometimes has two accusatives after it, as Plaut. Amp. IV. iii. 17, "Neque *me* Jupiter, neque Dii omnes *id*, *prohibebunt*, quin sic faciam." So Pseud. I. i. 11: "*Id te* Jupiter *prohibessit*."

101. The emphatic repetitions in this and the following lines are a high poetic beauty, of which Milton has not been sparing. Todd, by way of parallel, refers to the speech of Medea, in Apoll. Rhodius, Argon. iii. 785, ερρετω αιδως, ερρετω αγλαΐη, &c.; and Fairy Queen, i. 5. 43: but Shakspeare furnishes, I think, a far nobler parallel in Othello's speech, act iii.—the noblest passage of its kind in any language:—

——— "O now for ever
Farewell the tranquil mind!—farewell content!—
Farewell the plumed troops, and the big war
That make ambition virtue!—oh, farewell!—
Farewell the neighing steed, and the shrill trump,
The spirit-stirring drum, th' ear-piercing fife,
The royal banner, and all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!
And, oh, you mortal engines, whose rude throats
The immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit—
Farewell!—"

111. In allusion to the well-known lines, "Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet."—*(Gr.)*

112. *i. e.* By gaining the empire of earth through man's fall, while he retains that of hell; the Almighty retaining the empire of heaven only. These emphatic repetitions are very expressive of his rancorous resolution.—*(N.)*

114. "Each passion," *i. e.* ire, envy, and despair dimmed his countenance, which was thrice changed with pale through the successive agitations of these passions. Paleness is the proper hue of envy and despair, and is a sign of anger when most deadly and diabolical. It is remarkable that in the argument to this book, Milton wrote "fear," and not "ire." As "fear" there may be justified by line 18, "*horror* and doubt distract," and

other places; so is "ire" here warranted by line 9, and by his cursing God and himself, and by his menaces against man.—"Pale" for *paleness*, so x. 1009. See a similar description, Fairy Queen, I. x. 16. —*(N., T.)* Introduce a comma after "pale."

121. "Artificer of fraud." So in Latin we find "artifex sceleris, doli, morbi," &c. See Facciolati.

123. "Couched," *i. e. covered, together* with revenge; so that revenge should be hidden as well as malice.—*(P.)*

125. "Warned" does not refer to any intimation Uriel got *before* Satan landed on Niphates, but to the suspicion his altered appearance and conduct *there* excited. See iii. 742.

132. It is unnecessary to call attention to this famous description, which contains more than the condensed beauties of Homer's description of the gardens of Alcinous, and the grotto of Circe; of Virgil's descriptions; of Ariosto's picture of the garden of Paradise; Tasso's garden of Armida; and Marino's garden of Venus; also Spenser's descriptions, Fairy Queen, II. xii. 42; VI. x. 6; Dante, Purg. xxviii. (See *N., Th., H., T.)* The Mount of Paradise was situated in a champaign country on the top of a steep hill, whose sides were overgrown with impassable thickets at the foot, and above them with stately trees, rising row above row, like seats in an amphitheatre, hence forming a kind of natural theatre; and above these was the wall of Paradise, like a bank set with a green hedge, which was low enough for Adam to look over it downwards on Eden; and above this hedge grew a row of the finest fruit trees; and the only entrance was a gate on the eastern side.—*(N.)*

147, 148. Bentley would read "fruits" in the first verse, because the word "fruits" follows in the next. Pearce would prefer "fruit" in both, because the singular number is in several other passages of the poem applied to what is hanging on the trees. In my opinion there is no occasion for emendation. Milton, by "fruit," intended to express the *produce* generically, and in the next line the species of the genus, or the kinds of produce, *i. e.* blossoms and various fruits; and to show the uncommon fecundity of the trees, he says they bore blossoms and fruits at once, *i. e.* keeping up, as it were, a succession of productions. It is a remarkable fact, that a species of the *Arbutus*, which abounds near the lakes of Killarney, shooting out of the bare solid rocks, produces blossom and fruit at once. I have often, when a school-boy, plucked blossom, green fruit, and ripe fruit from the same tree at the same time. *Frux* in Latin is sometimes used for *produce generally*, while *fructus* is sometimes applied to *particular kinds* of it. This is a sufficient defence of the text.

151. Here again the spirit of emendation is, I think, uselessly at work. There has been a question whether Bentley, Hume, or T. Warton deserves the credit of reading *on* here for "in;" as the *effect* of the sun on the evening cloud or rainbow is the thing to be attended to. Now Milton wrote "in," and in my opinion properly; as he wished to convey the idea of the sun's not only gilding the surface of the cloud, but penetrating it, and impregnating it with the irradiating influence of his beams. So he uses "on" in reference to the blossoms and fruits, which were substances impenetrable by light; and uses "in" with respect to the cloud and rainbow, which are permeable bodies.

158. This fine passage is a copy of a fine one in Shakspeare, Twelfth Night:—

> —— "like the sweet south,
> That breathes upon a bank of violets,
> *Stealing* and giving odour;"—

but much improved, as Dr. Greenwood remarks, by the addition of that beautiful metaphor, included in the word "whisper." See Orl. Fur. xxxiv. 51.—*(N., T.)*

161. Diodorus Siculus, iii. 46, describes the aromatic plants of Sabæa, or Arabia Felix, as yielding "inexpressible fragrance to the senses, which is even enjoyed by the navigator, though he sails by at a great distance from the shore. For in spring, when the wind blows off land, the odour from the aromatic trees and plants diffuses itself over the neighbouring sea." Several other writers, including Sir W. Jones, speak of the air as being impregnated with perfume from the spice trees of Arabia. See Orl. Fur. xviii. 138.—*(T.)* "Mozambic," an island on the eastern coast of Africa.—"Sabean odours," from Saba, a city and district of Arabia Felix. Virg. Georg. i. 57:—

> "India mittit ebur, molles sua thura Sabæi."
> *(N.)*

168. "Asmodeüs." The name of an evil spirit, mentioned in Tobit, who being enamoured of Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, constantly beset her, and killed all her husbands before Tobias:

but was expelled by the fume arising from the gall of a fish burned by Tobias, and was bound by the angel Raphael in the deserts of Upper Egypt. See Calmet.

177. "That passed that way," *i. e.* that *would have* passed that way. So ii. 642: "So *seemed* far off the fiend," *i. e.* would have seemed, if any one had been there to have seen him. Thus Euripides, Ion. 1326: Ηκουσας ως μ' εκτεινεν ηδε μηχαναις; "Did you hear how she *killed* me" *i. e. would have killed* me "by her stratagems?"—*(N.)* Milton often uses verbs, like the Greeks, in the aorist, or indefinite sense, as to mood, as well as tense.

181. Shakspeare has a similar play on the same word, Romeo and Juliet, i. 4:—

"I am too sore enpierced with his shaft
To soar with his light feathers; and so *bound*,
I cannot *bound* a pitch above dull woe."—*(T.)*

183. A "wolf" is often the subject of a simile in Homer and Virgil; but is here considered in a new light, and perhaps never furnished out a stronger resemblance.—*(N.)*

193. "Lewd" here is taken in its original sense, to signify gross, ignorant, corrupt. So i. 490; vi. 182.—*(N.)*

195. So Gen. ii. 9.

196. A "cormorant" being a *very voracious* sea fowl, is a proper emblem of the destroyer of mankind. Homer represents Sleep in the likeness of a bird sitting on a tall fir tree on Mount Ida. Il. xiv.(—*N.*)

201. Compare the beginning of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal.

210. Milton, agreeably to the accounts of Scripture, places Eden in Mesopotamia. Auran or Charræ was a city on the Euphrates, as Seleucia was on the Tigris. He gives another description of its locality, by saying it was the original site of Telassar, or Talatha, (a city and province on the common streams, according to Ptolemy, of the Euphrates and Tigris,) in which the children of Eden dwelt, as Isaiah says, xxxvii. 12.—*(N., C.)* Mesopotamia means the land *between the rivers*, (εν μεσσω ποταμοιν) Euphrates and Tigris.

215. Addison has observed, that Milton has, by his gorgeous and elaborate description of Paradise, observed Aristotle's rule of lavishing all the ornaments of diction on the inactive parts of a fable, which are not supported by the beauty of sentiments and character.

218. "All amid," *omnino medius*, quite in the middle.

223. Most probably the united current of the Euphrates and Tigris, on which the best commentators think Paradise was situated.—*(N.)*

233. See Gen. ii. 10.

236. There has been a great deal of hypercriticism wasted on this word "art." It does not refer to the art of poetry, or the art of gardening, or both; but simply means human power, skill, or learning. *Ars*, in Latin, is used in this general sense.

238. See Gen. ii. 12. Many rivers are described by the ancient poets as having sands of gold, such as the Pactolus, Hermus, Tagus, &c.

246. "Imbrowned." This word, and "brown" in other passages of his poems, Milton uses to describe any thing shaded; from the Italian *imbrunir*, by the Italian poets often used, say the commentators, to express the approach of evening.—*(N., T.)*

248. "Wept." By the same beautiful metaphor as Ovid uses about the myrrh tree, Met. x. 500:—

"*Flet* tamen; et tepidæ manant ex arbore guttæ;
Est honos et lachrymis."

So Pope, Temple of Fame:—

"And trees weep amber on the banks of Po."
(T.)

250. "Fables," in the original sense of *fabula*, a circumstance generally talked of, whether true or false; so that the proposed substitution of *apples* for *fables* is unnecessary.—*(P.)*

255. "Irriguous," watered. In Latin, *irriguus* is sometimes passive.

256. As it was a part of the curse denounced on the earth, that it should bring forth *thorns* and thistles, Milton here properly represents the rose as having no thorns.—*(N.)*

263. Milton here personifies the lake, as the old poets personified ruins. So, iii. 359, he personifies the river of bliss.

266, 267. "Pan" is universal nature; the "Graces," the beautiful seasons; and the "Hours," the time requisite for the production and perfection of things: these danced a perpetual round, and throughout the earth, yet unpolluted, led eternal spring. That the Graces were taken for the beautiful seasons, in which all things seem to dance in universal joy, is plain from Horace iv. Od. vii. 5:—

"Gratia cum nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros."

Homer, in his hymn to Apollo, joins the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus. The ancient poets favoured the idea of the world's creation in spring. Virg. Georg. ii. 338; Ovid. Met. i. 107.—(*H., R.*)

269. &c. "Enna" in Sicily, celebrated by Ovid and Claudian for its beauty, from whence Proserpine was carried off by Pluto.—The "Castalian spring" mentioned here, was that in the grove of Daphne, famous for its oracles, on the banks of the Orontes, near Antioch in Syria. The Isle of Nysa was encompassed by the river Triton in Africa. Milton, following the authority of Diodorus Siculus, calls Bacchus the son of Amalthæa, not of Semele.—"Mount Amara," where the sons of the kings of Abyssinia were kept for protection, was under the equinoctial line, and celebrated for its beauty.

294. Newton says this verse should be used parenthetically; else "whence" may refer to "freedom," whereas it refers to 293.

299. The commentators think that "for God *and* him" would be a better reading; as in iv. 440, and x. 150, Milton mentions Eve as made *for* Adam. But I think Milton designedly wrote *in*, having the following passage in view: "The head of the woman is the man, the head of the man is Christ, and the head of Christ is God." 1 Cor. xi.; thus creating an ascending scale, the woman being created for God through man, man for God through Christ, and Christ for God through God.

301. "Hyacinthine." Minerva, in Homer (Od. vi. 232), gives Ulysses *hyacinthine* locks—resembling the hyacinth flower, (ουλας ηκε κομας ὑακινθινῳ ανθει ὁμοιας,) to make him look more beautiful. The hyacinth was of a dark brown colour. By this word Milton distinguishes Adam's hair from Eve's, in the colour, as well as in other particulars.—(*N.*) Milton may mean that Adam's locks were *curled*, like the blossoms of the hyacinth, without any reference to the *colour*.—(*T.*) It really means both.

303. Broad shoulders are always assigned to the ancient heroes by the poets. Newton thinks that Milton, who frequently fetches his ideas from the works of the greatest masters in painting, omitted any mention of Adam's beard, because Raphael and the principal painters, represent him without one. But why did they? I think, because Adam, before the Fall, and before he became subject to death, was supposed to be in a state of perpetual *youth*. Besides, Milton had scriptural authority (see 361 and note,) for considering him as a being barely inferior to angels, and these were never represented by good poet or painter as having beard.

304. So Marino paints his Venus, (Adon. viii. 46.) Milton has with great taste and judgment avoided entering into a particular description of Eve's beauty, (though most great poets, especially the moderns, have given elaborate delineations of the beauties of their heroines, as in Ariosto's Alcina, Tasso's Armida, and Spencer's Belphœbe,) and directs the reader's attention especially to the beauties of her mind.—(*Th.*)

305. The Greek poets represent yellow hair as a great accompaniment to female beauty. Venus, Helen, and others are described as having golden or auburn locks; probably because, as the Greeks were a swarthy people with black hair and eyes, it was novel, and indicated a fair skin. Newton further remarks, that he here refers to his wife, who had yellowish hair, as his description of Adam was a picture of his own person. Todd thinks that he had in view Spenser's description of Britomartis, Fairy Queen, IV. i. 3:—

> ——"her *golden locks* that were upbound
> Still in a knot, unto her heeles down traced
> And like a *silken veile* incompasse round
> About her back and all her bodie wound."

308—310. Newton thinks that Milton had St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, xi. 14, 15, in view, and also Horace ii. Od. xii. 26:—

> ——— "facili sævitiâ negat
> Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
> Interdum rapere occupat."

310. *i. e.* Best received by him *when* yielded by her with coy submission.

314. He alludes to 1 Cor. xii. 23: "And those members of the body which we think to be *less honourable*, upon these we bestow more abundant *honour*." But that *honour* is really a *dishonour*; a token of our fall, and guilt. Innocent nature made no such distinction.—(*N.*)

315. Should we not read, "Sin bred how have *you* troubled," &c. for what is he speaking to besides *shame?*—(*N.*) I see no occasion for correction here. "Ye" can refer to "shame" twice designated; or to "shame" and "honour dishonourable;" or a semicolon being put after "dishonourable," may not "sin-

bred" be taken as the vocative, to mean, Ye sin-bred notions, how have *ye*, &c. ?

323, 324. These two lines are censured by some critics, as implying that Adam was one of his sons, and Eve one of her daughters: but Newton shows that it is a manner of expression borrowed from the Greeks and adopted by the Latins, in which the superlative is sometimes used for the comparative degree. So a freed woman is called in Horace i. Sat. i. 100, *fortissima Tyndaridarum, the bravest of the Tyndaridæ, i. e.* braver than any of the daughters of Tyndarus, for she was not in reality one of them; and Pearce observes, that Diana is said by one of the poets to have been *comitum pulcherrima, the most beautiful of her attendants*, i. e. more beautiful than any of them, as she was not one of her own attendants.

332. The following passage of Theocritus (Idyll. vii.) is somewhat analogous:

Οχναι μεν παρ ποσσι, παρα πλευρησι δε μαλα
Δαφνεων αμμιν εκυλινδετο· τοι δ' εκεχυντο
Ορπακες βραβυλοισι καταβριθοντες εραδα.

333. "Recline," *reclining*, adjective—an unusual word, from the Latin *reclinis*.

337. Fairy Queen, III. viii. 14:—

"He 'gan make *gentle purpose* to his dame."
(*Th.*)

348. "Insinuating." Coiling himself as it were into his own bosom; from *sinus*, bosom. *Sinuare* and *sinuosus* are used by Virgil and the Latin poets to express the rolling and twisting of the snake. See Æn. xi. 753.—"Gordian twine," in allusion to the famous Gordian knot which could not be untied.—"Braided train," twisted tail. These motions of the serpent were a type of his fraud, but they were not then regarded.—(*H., R.*)

352. "Bedward ruminating." Chewing the cud before going to rest; ruminating, from the Latin *ruminare*. Compare Orl. Fur. vi. 22.—(*T.*)

353. "Declined," fallen low; from the Latin *declinare*, which is rarely taken passively.

354. Newton thinks the metaphor of the scales of heaven weighing day and night, the one descending as the other ascends, is taken from the sign *Libra* or the balance, when the sun is in that sign, at the autumnal equinox, and day and night are in even balance, or of equal length.

358. This protracted emotion of Satan, which deprived him at first of the power of utterance, is nobly conceived.—(*Ad.*)

361. So Psalm viii. 5: "Thou hast made him (man) a little lower than the angels," &c. So also Heb. ii. 7.—(*N.*)

381. See Isaiah xiv. 9.—(*Gil.*)

390. This line is to be taken in apposition with "public reason just," before, which means, *state policy*, and constituted the tyrant's plea, "necessity." It is a curious historical fact, that when the corpse of Charles I. lay in one of the rooms at Whitehall, Cromwell walked up and down the room where it lay, wrapped in a long black cloak, muttering to himself, "Terrible necessity!"—(*T.*)

402. The transformation of Bacchus (Eurip. Bacchæ. 1014) somewhat resembles this:—

Φανηθι ταυρος, η πολυκρανος γ' ιδειν
Δρακων, η πυριφλεγων
Ορασθαι λεων.—(*T.*)

408, 410. "When Adam .... turned him." Dunster says (and his explanation has been copied by Todd and other commentators) that the words "Adam moving," &c. are to be taken as the case absolute, parenthetically; and that "turned him," being the same as *turned himself*, is elliptical, *he* (*i. e.* Satan) being understood as the subject to the verb. This, in my opinion, is throwing ingenuity away. The explanation of the passage is simply this: "When Adam, *moving speech* (a Greek phrase, *κινησας μυθον* or *λογον*, or making the first motion of an address), turned him (directed Satan) all ear (all attention, as if all his faculties were for the time absorbed in the sense of hearing) to hear new utterance flow," or the language of earthly beings, which was strange to him.

411. "Sole part," *i. e.* of all these earthly joys:—thou the only part coming from myself; alluding to her creation from his rib.—"Of," *i. e.* among.—(*P.*)

421. Gen. ii. 16, 17; i. 28.

449. It appears from this and other passages, (iv. 680, 712; v. 31, and other passages,) that Milton supposed Adam and Eve existed in Paradise a long time before this event.—(*N.*)

460. Milton has here embodied whatever is beautiful and appropriate in the story of Narcissus, Ovid. Met. iii. 457:—

"Spem mihi, nescio quam, vultu promittis amico;
Cumque ego porrexi tibi brachia, porrigis ultro;
Cum risi, arrides; lachrymas quoque sæpe notavi
Me lachrymante, tuas....
"Ista repercussæ, quam cernis, imaginis umbra est;
Nil habet ista sui; tecum venitque, manetque;
Tecum discedet, si tu discedere possis."—(*N.*)

Stillingfleet observes, that Milton is here free from the objection to which Ovid is liable, of making a person mixing in society, like Narcissus, deceived by his own shadow; and that what Aristotle said of Homer, may be well applied here and elsewhere to Milton—that he teaches poets to tell fiction properly.

470. "Stays." Waits for. It is here taken actively, as *maneo* sometimes is in Latin.

471, 472. Read a comma after "embraces," for "he" refers to "no shadow;" and a semicolon after "art."

478. "Platain." The plane tree, from πλατυς, broad, on account of its broad shadowing leaves.—*(H.)* The introduction of the word *plantain* in the text of this edition has resulted from inadvertence.

486. "Individual." Not divided, from the Latin *individuus*.

492, &c. Milton's delicacy and judgment here are remarkable. An Italian's imagination would have hurried him the length of a dozen stanzas on this occasion, and with its luxuriant wildness changed Adam and Eve into a Venus and Adonis. *(Th.)*

499, &c. As the heavens or upper æther, the seat of heat and fire, (in ancient poetry personified by Jupiter,) smile on the air (Juno), thus making the elements the cause of fertility in spring. So Virg. Georg. ii. 325:—

"Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus."

See also the account of Jupiter's dalliance with Juno, Il. xiv. Adam is the subject to "pressed," the simile being taken as a parenthesis.—*(N.)*

500. "Impregns," for impregnates.

504. "'Plained" for complained. So "'sdain" for disdain, &c.

509. The verb *is* is understood, as viii. 621.—*(P.)* The Greeks and Latins often omitted the substantive verb, when it could be plainly supplied from the context. Milton often does so.

515. Satan, with great judgment, is represented here as artfully perverting a fact, as if *useful* knowledge was denied to them.—*(N.)*

530. "A chance but chance." *Forte fortuna* are often used together in Latin. Todd quotes a similar jingle from Fairy Queen, III. vii. 3:—

"Her *force*, at last, *perforce* adowne did lie."

539. "In utmost longitude;" at the farthest distance. See note on iii. 555.

541. "Slowly descended." As in fact the sun passes equal spaces in equal times, and as (353) it is represented as *hasting* down, some commentators propose to read here "*lowly* descended." Pearce thinks that Milton wrote "*slowly*," because Uriel, its angel, came on a sunbeam to Paradise, and was to return on the same beam, which he could not have well done if the sun moved with its usual rapidity. I think this interpretation rather strained, and that (353,) Milton spoke philosophically true; whereas here he speaks with poetic license to describe a long, and as if slow evening; the sun appearing not, from its elevated position, to shoot rapidly down, but, from its apparent position parallel with the earth, to sink slowly and gradually into the bed of the ocean.

543. *i. e.* The pillars: the gate itself was of ivory, (778.)

549. "Gabriel." See Daniel vii. and ix; Luke i.—*(H.)*

551. See note on ii. 528.

555. "Through the even," *i. e.* through that part of the hemisphere where it was then evening. So, 792, "the sun's decline." So Virgil, Georg. iv. 59, poetically describes a swarm of bees sailing through the glowing summer:—

"Nare per æstatem liquidam suspexeris agmen."—*(P., R.)*

556. Homer in like manner, compares the descent of Minerva to a shooting star, sent as a sign to mariners; Il. iv. 74:—

Βη δε κατ' ουλυμποιο καρηνων αιξασα,
Οιον δ' αστερα ηκε Κρονου παις αγκυλομητεω,
Η ναυτησι τερας, ηε στρατῳ ευρει λαων·
Δαμπρον· τον δε τε πολλοι απο σπειθηρες ιενται.

The fall of Phaeton (Ov. Met. ii. 320) is illustrated by the appearance of a falling star. These phœnomena are most common in autumn after the heat of summer, and are mentioned by Virgil (Georg. i. 365) as portending tempestuous weather, to which Milton alludes here.

"Sæpe etiam stellas, vento impendente, videbis
Præcipites cœlo labi, noctisque per umbram,
Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus."
(N.)

Read a comma after "sunbeam."

561. He speaks in reference to the Jewish priests, who performed their several duties in the temple, in particular courses, by lot. See 1 Chron. xxiv.; Luke i. 8.—*(N., C.)*

563. "Approach or enter in," *i. e* to approach, or *at least* to enter in.—*(P.)*

575. The abruptness and brevity of this lamentable announcement are very judicious. The main facts are stated, and no more. It is in Homer's style. The death of Patroclus is announced to Achilles in three short sentences: "Patroclus is fallen! They are fighting round his naked corpse. Hector has his arms."

583. "So minded." Being so disposed; a translation of the occasional meaning of *animatus*.

590—593. The sunbeam when he came upon it was *level* (see 541—543); but, as the sun sank during his discourse, it sloped downwards from the hill of Paradise.—"Azores," (a trisyllable,) a cluster of nine islands, commonly called Terceras, in the Atlantic.—"Whether;" he will not determine whether the sun rolled thither from east to west with incredible swift motion in the space of a day, or the earth with shorter flight by rolling east left him there; it being a less motion for the earth to move from west to east on its own axis, according to the system of Copernicus, than for the sun and heavenly bodies to move from east to west, according to the system of Ptolemy. So, iii. 575, he does not determine whether the sun was the centre of the world.—"Voluble," with the second syllable long, as in Latin; though, ix. 436, the word has the second syllable short. In the first edition *whither* was improperly printed for "whether."—*(B., H., R., N.)*

598, &c. This is the first evening in the poem; and to this description of it I know nothing parallel or comparable in the treasures of ancient or modern poetry. I can only recollect one description to be mentioned after this, a moonshiny night in Homer (Il. viii. 551), where Mr. Pope has taken pains to make the translation as excellent as the original:—

Ὡς δ' ὁτ' εν ουρανῳ αστρα φαεινην αμφι σελην̣ην
Φαινετ' αριπρεπεα, οτε τ' επλετο νηνεμος αιθηρ,
Εκ τ' εφανυν πασαι σκοπιαι, και πρωονες ακροι,
Και ναπαι· ουρανοθεν δ' αρ' υπερρ̣ηγη ασπετος αιθηρ.
Παντα δε τ' ειδεται αστρα· γεγηθε δε τε φρενα ποιμην.

Milton leaves off where Homer begins. —*(N.)*

599. Shakspeare:—

"Come civil night,
Thou *sober-suited* matron, all in black."

603. "Amorous." Showing affection, in allusion to her lamentation for her lost young. Virg. Georg. iv. 514:—

"Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
Integrat."

So Comus, 234:—

—"When the love-lorn nightingale
Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well."

Todd says that the voice of the nightingale is termed by Euripides πολυχορδοτατη, having the greatest possible number of strings or notes; hence the propriety of the word "descant," which means a song with various notes.

614. Fairy Queen, i. 36:—

"The drooping night thus creepeth on them fast,
And the sad humour loading their eyelids,
As messengers of Morpheus, on them cast
Sweet slumbering dew, the which to sleep them bids."—(*Tk.*)

"Inclines." In the occasional sense of *inclinare*, actively, *to bend or weigh down: declinare* is sometimes used thus:—"dulci declinat lumina somno." (Virg. Æn. iv. 185.)

628. "Manuring," used here in its original sense from the French *manœuvre*, to signify, manual labour. The next line shows this.—*(R.)*

640. "Seasons" here does no mean the seasons of the year strictly speaking, but the different changes and periods of the day. So viii. 69; ix. 200.—*(N.)*

641. This passage is famous in our language not merely as a description, but as a specimen also of turns of words, from the variety of images, and the recapitulation of each image with a little varying of the expression. The following passage from the Danae of Euripides is quoted by Hurd as somewhat parallel to this, though immeasurably inferior:—

—φιλον μεν φεγγος ἡλιου τοδε,
Καλον δε ποντου χευμ' ιδειν ευηνεμον,
Γη τ' ηρινον θαλλουσα, πλουσιον δ' ὑδωρ:
Πολλων τ' επαινον εστι μοι λεξαι καλων·
Αλλ' ουδεν ουτω λαμπρον, ουδ' ιδειν καλον,
Ὡς, τοις απαισι και ποθῳ δεδηγμενοις
Παιδων νεογνων εν δομοις ιδειν φαος.

See also the eighth Idyllium of Theocritus: ἀδεῖ' ἀ *φωνα*, &c.

656. There should be only a comma after "starlight."

660. It has been observed that Milton, in imitation of Homer, uses titles of respect and honour when his personages address each other in a friendly way, especially in the dialogues between Adam and Eve. Pope (Il. i. 97) notices this custom of Homer.—*(N.)*

661. Read *these*. See 657, 674.—*(N.)*

671. This passage may be considered an imitation of Hesiod, i. 120, &c. who

represented the good genii wandering through the air to guard mortals. Similar passages may be found in several Christian writers. See Crashaw's Sacred Poems, Ed. 1652, p. 52.—*(N., T.)*

682. This notion of their singing and playing by night is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius, iv. 586; and Shakspeare, Tempest, act iii. sc. 2.—*(N., D.)* Milton's notion here is in unison with that of many of the old Christian writers.

688. "Divide the night," *i. e.* into certain portions. In the Roman camp the divisions of the night were announced by sound of trumpet, to regulate the different watches. "Cum buccina noctem divideret:" Sil. Ital. Pun. vii. 154.—*(R.)*

696. "Acanthus," from *ακανθον*, a thorn, is a thorny spicy shrub with long large winding leaves. which furnished the idea to architects, in the Corinthian order, of forming their capitals on pillars in imitation of it.

698. "Iris all hues," *i.e. of* all hues; as before, (694,) "laurel" for *of* laurel. The *Iris* is the flower-de-luce, exhibiting the various colours of the *Iris* or rainbow. —*(N.)*

700. "Mosaic." A floor, or any surface, of various colours and materials so arranged as to represent different figures, first used in the places consecrated to the *Muses*, whence the name. The word, though generally applied to the floor, is here applied to the roof. The Greek *μουσα* and *μουσικον* were generally applied to any thing neatly performed and fitted. This sort of work, *musivum opus*, was so called. "à concinnitate et elegantia." (Scaliger.) Pope says that Milton imitates Homer, (Il. xiv 347,) where Jupiter and Juno are represented as lying together in conjugal embrace on Ida; and that he copies the terms and cadence of his verse, and many of his words. Yes; but how small a portion of his description are Homer's three lines! and how immeasurably superior is this description to Homer's, and to those of all the ancient poets put together!—

Τοισι δ' υπο Χθων δια φυεν νευθηλεα ποιην,
Λωτον θ' ερσηεντα, ιδε κροκον, ηδ' υακινθον,
Πυκνον και μαλακον, ος απο χθονος υψοσ' εεργε.

703. "Emblem." Εμβλημα, (as *emblema*, Lat.) properly a tesselated or variegated floor of stone, wood, or other materials, so as to exhibit various devices; hence, it means, curious and variegated workmanship.

706. "Though but feigned." *i.e. Even poetic fiction* never gave a more delightfully shaded and sequestered bower to the rural deities; to Pan the god of shepherds, Sylvanus the god of woods, the nymphs, the tutelar spirits of spring and mountain, or Faunus the god of husbandmen.

716. "Unwiser son." This does *not mean that Prometheus* who stole the fire from heaven to animate the clay substance of man, and who rejected Pandora (so called from the many accomplishments bestowed on her by the gods), sent in revenge by Jupiter, and conducted by Mercury or Hermes, to allure and corrupt him with her blandishments, *was unwiser*. But the comparative here is to be taken, as it very frequently is in Latin, not in reference to another object, but to express a very great degree in itself. Thus *unwiser* here would be *insipientior*, i. e. very unwise, or unwiser than was just or expedient. Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus, received her; and a box which she gave him being opened, let loose upon mankind all manner of evils. This is the explanation of some commentators. Pearce asks, May not Prometheus have been unwise in stealing the fire? Why not take the comparative literally, and apply it to Epimetheus, who really did receive her, and therefore was less wise than his brother who rejected her? I ask.

724. I transcribe here a note from my edition of Livy, Vol. I. b. i. c. 57, as containing a fuller illustration of this beautiful passage than any I find in Milton's Commentators.—"Let the reader mark this abrupt and unexpected introduction of a speech. It is a great beauty, of which instances are to be found in some of the best classical writers, and which Longinus (c. 27) calls a burst of impassioned eloquence. See Quintilian, b. ix. c. 3. Virgil, Æn. viii. 291:—

'——— duros mille labores
Rege sub Eurystheo, fatis Junonis iniquæ
Pertulerit. "Tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembres,
Hylæumque Pholumque manu; tu Cressia mactas
Prodigia, et vastum Nemeâ sub rupe leonem."'

and Æn. ix. 632:—

'Et fugit horrendum stridens elapsa sagitta,
Perque caput Remuli venit, et cava tempora ferro
Trajicit. "I verbis virtutem illude superbis."'

Homer, Il. xv. 346:

Εκτωρ δε Τρωεσσιν εκεκλετο, μακρον αυσας,
Νευσσιν επισσευεσθαι, εαν δ' ενερα βροτοεντα·
Την δ' αν εγων απαινυθε νεων ετερωθι νοησω,
Αυτου υπ θανατον μητ.σσομαι.

Horace, i. Ep. vii.—

' ——— conspexit, ut aiunt,
Adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra
Cutello proprios purgantem leniter ungues,
" Demetri puer ———
—— abi, quære, et refer, unde domo, quis. "'

See also b. i. c. 13."

729. " Delicious place," Pearce says, is governed by " mad'st," understood; Richardson says it is coupled to " mutual help" before, and governed by " in."

735. Bentley would read " *the* gift of sleep," and says the words are a translation of Homer's ὑπνου δωρον. But Pearce says Milton meant here to declare that sleep was *God's* gift, (see 611, 612;) and so Virgil, Æn. ii. 269, says of sleep:

" Dono Divum gratissima serpit."

Todd says Milton rests here on scriptural authority (Psalm cxxvii.): " He (God) *giveth* his beloved *sleep*."

739. " Eased," being eased. The preposition is understood before the substantive, in imitation of the Greeks and Latins, who often used substantives without expressing the prepositions κατα or *quoad*.

748. This refers to the celibacy of the Romish clergy, which he calls the doctrine of the devil; Paul (1 Tim. iv. 1—3) says, " In the latter time some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of the devil, forbidding to marry," &c.—*(N.)*

750. " Mysterious," including a mystery in it besides the plain precept which appears. So St. Paul (Ephes. v. 32): " Marriage hath a mystery."—*(P.)*

751. " Propriety," *i. e.* exclusive right and individual possession; in the original sense of *proprietas*, from *proprius*, or belonging to one's self alone.—" *Of* all things:" *of* is frequently used by Milton for *among*, as here.

756. " Charities." In the strict and original sense of *caritates* (from χαρις, love, and natural affection), which embraces all the endearments and relations of consanguinity and affinity and patriotic duty. Thus Cicero (Off. i. 17) sums up its applications:—" Cari parentis, cari liberi, propinqui, famuli; sed omnes omnium *caritates* patria una complexa est."—*(N.)*

761. See Heb. xiii. 4.—*(N.)*

763, 764. Cupid, in Ovid. Met. i. 470, has a golden sharp-pointed arrow with which he causes love, and a leaden blunt one with which he expels it; and, Rem. Amor. 701, he has purple wings.—*(Wart., D.)*

769. " Serenate." An Italian word—quasi *in sereno*. Lovers selected *serene* cold nights to sing and play before the doors or windows of their mistresses, the better to convey to them the charms of their music, the force of their lamentations, together with an idea of the hardships they were suffering and willing to suffer for their sakes. See Hor. i. Od. xxv. 7; iii. Od. x. 1.—*(N.)*

776, 777. " Hill," *i. e.* half way towards midnight, at the third hour of night, (it being now autumn,) when the first military watch, according to the custom in the Roman camp, took its rounds. The shadow of the earth is in the form of a cone, the base of the cone standing on that side of the globe where the sun is not, and consequently when it is night there. This cone, to those who are on the darkened side of the earth, could it be seen, would mount as the sun fell lower, and be at its utmost height in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight. The shadow of the earth sweeps as it were the whole arch or vault of heaven between the earth and moon, and extends beyond the orbit of the moon, as appears from the lunar eclipses.—*(B., R., N.)*

778. Ivory was considered an article of great value and beauty by the ancients. We find frequent mention of it in Scripture: Solomon's throne was of ivory. See Ovid. Met. iv. 185. This passage can have no reference to the ivory gates of Virgil, (Æn. vi.) as some commentators think.—" Port," *(porta,)* a gate.

784. " As flame." This simile admirably expresses their rapidity and the splendour of their armour; and is peculiarly suited to those beings of whom the Scripture says, " He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." —*(N.)*

785. " Shield to spear," *i. e.* from left to right; a classical phrase, as the left hand held the shield, while the right grasped the spear. Thus, Livy says, " declinare ad hastam, vel ad scutum." (So Xenophon, Anabasis, iii. 26, uses the words παρ ασπιδος, and, 29, επι δορυ) The angels, as they stood, looked westward, with their backs to the gate. " As they are supposed in arms, 'shield' and 'spear' give a dignity of expression, more than *left* and *right* have," says Bentley.

788. " Ithuriel" in Hebrew means Discovery of God. " Zephon," Searcher of Secrets.

791. " Secure," (*securus,*) without any concern about, or fear of; *sine cura*.

796. "Hither," *i. e.* to me wherever I may be.—*(R.)*

799. "Of whom." Of him whom; the antecedent being classically understood.

802. "Organs of her fancy." Shakspeare, Mer. W. of Wind. act v. sc. 5:—

"Raise up the organs of her fantasy,
Sleep she as sound as careless infancy."—*(T.)*

804. So Virg. Æn. vii. 351, when the fury Alecto works on queen Amata:—

"Vipeream inspirans animam..... Pertentat sensus."—*(T.)*

Observe the change of construction: before it was "assaying *to* reach;" here it is "assaying *if* he might taint."

807. "At least," *i. e.* if not thoroughly wicked thoughts, at least distempered thoughts.

814. See Orl. Fur. x. 40.—*(Th.)*

816. "The tun." The cask or barrel.

823. Similar to the question in Homer, Il. x. 82:—

Τις δ' ουτος κατα νηας ανα στρατον ερχεαι οιος.

829. "Sitting," *i. e.* like a prince on his throne.—*(Gr.)*

834. As Ithuriel was the person who unmasked him, Zephon is very properly made to rebuke him; so that each may have his share in the action.—*(N.)*

835. *i. e.* Think not thy shape the same, or think not thy undiminished brightness to be known now, as it was formerly in heaven.—*(N.)*

845. Virg. Æn. v. 344:—

"Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus."
(N.)

848. In imitation of Cicero, De Offic. i. 5: "Formam quidem ipsam, et quasi faciem honesti vides, quæ, si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores, ut ait Plato, excitaret sapientiæ;"—as "saw and pined his loss" in imitation of Persius, Sat. iii. 38:—

"Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta."
(N.)

858. To this beautiful passage Thyer produces as a close parallel what Mercury says to Prometheus; Æschyl. Prom. Vinct. 1008:—

—— δακων δε στομιοι ως νεοζυγης
Ιπποις, βιαζη και προς ηνιας μαχη.

So Virg. Æn. iv.—

"Frena ferox spumantia mandit."

So Fairy Queen, I. i. 1:—

"His *angry steede* did chide his foming bitt,
As much *disdayning* to the *curbe* to yield."
(T.)

865. Gabriel is here a trisyllable.

866. Upton remarks, that Milton in this whole episode keeps Homer in view, when he sends out Ulysses and Diomede as spies into the Trojan camp. Il. x. 535:—

—— ω φιλοι
Ιππων μ' ωκυποδων αμφι κτεατ ουατα βαλλει.

874. Il. x. 540:—

Ουτω των ειρητο επος, ον' αρ ηλυθον αυτω.

879. "Transgressions:" *i.e.* the bounds of hell were prescribed as the limit *beyond* which Satan was *not* to transgress. If we take with Richardson "transgressions" here, in the Latin sense of *transgressus*, or *transgressiones*, to mean *transcursions*, a word which Bentley proposes, there will be an inelegance in using "transgressions" according to one language, and "transgress" after, according to another; as "transgress" must be taken in its strictly English meaning. See *(N.)*

883. "Violate sleep." Shakspeare: "Macbeth doth *murder* sleep."

890. Read a semicolon after "doubt."

892. "To change torment with ease." A pure Latinism. Hor. i. Od. xvi. 26:—

"Mitibus mutare tristia."

So Shakspeare, Cymbeline i. 6, uses *changes with*:—

"To *change* one misery *with* another."—*(Steev.)*

894. "Dole." Affliction, from *dolor*. So Shakspeare, Ham. i. 2, "weighing delight and *dole*."

895, 896. "No reason," this is no reason. "Wilt object," wilt *thou* object—ironically.

903. So Tasso, Gier. Liber. v. 42 and xix. 4.—*(Bowle.)*

904. Ironically—there is none now in heaven to judge of what is wise.

914. So Jupiter threatens the refractory divinity, Il. viii. 12:—

Πληγεις ου κατα κοσμον ελευσεται Ουλυμπονδε.

924. A translation of the Homeric words, *τον δ' αρ υποδρα ιδων προσεφη*.

925. Satan commences with an elliptical sentence, abruptly; I suppose from the excess of his rage: "I come not because I endure less."

927. "Thy fiercest," attack; the adjective being classically used without a substantive, as is not unusual in Milton. —*(P.)*

929. Æn. xii. 894:—

"Non me tua fervida terrent
Dicta, ferox; Dii me terrent et Jupiter hostis."
(T.)

941. *i. e.* Though, in order to maintain possession, I may be put to the trial once

more of what you and your legions could dare do against me.

944. So Prometheus daringly addresses the chorus, Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 945 :—

Σεβου, προσευχου, θωπτε τον κρατουντ' αει,
Εμον δ' ελασσον Ζηνος η μηδεν μελει.—*(T.)*

945. i. e. *With* practised distances.

950. "Faithful." As Satan so called himself, 933.

962. "I areed," I decree. A Saxon word.

965, 966. This seems to allude to the chaining of Satan, Rev. xx. 3: "And he cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him." —*(H.)* I think the menaces of Jupiter, Il. viii. 12, may also be quoted.

Ἡ μιν ἐλων ῥιψω ες Ταρταρον ηεροεντα.

971. "Limitary." Either in allusion to what Gabriel said, (964,) "who presumest to set limits to me," as Hume thinks; or, according to Richardson, in allusion to his mean office. *Milites limitanei* were soldiers appointed during the Roman empire to guard the frontiers; *limitour* in Chaucer is a friar restrained to the exercise of his office within certain limits.

974. Psalm xviii. 10: "He rode upon a cherub and did fly." It also alludes to the vision of Ezekiel, (I. 10, 11,) where four cherubim are appointed to the four wheels.—*(T., N.)*

980. "Ported spears," *i. e.* pointed towards him. Homer has a simile like this, Il. ii. 147 :—

Ὡς δ' ὁτε κινησει Ζεφυρος βαθυ ληϊον ελθων
Δαβροις, εναιγιζων, επι τ' ημνεϊ ασταχυεσσιν·
Ὡς των πασ' αγορη κινηθη.—*(H., N.)*

986. Thyer says Milton is indebted for this word "dilated" to Tasso's description of Argantes addressing himself to combat with Tancred, Gier. Liber. xix. 12—

"Ma *disteso* e eretto il fero Argante;"

and expresses by it the distension of his whole person with rage, as in ii. 705. But Dunster imagines that as Satan here was really alarmed, he only here dilates himself to take the finest position, and best oppose the foes that encircle him.—"Unremoved," not to be removed; as "unreproved," (492,) not to be reproved.

988. Hom. Il. iv. 443, describing discord :—

Ουρανω εστηριξε καρη, και επι χθονι βαινει.

So, Æn. iv. 177, the same description is applied to Fame. So Book of Wisdom, xviii. 16. Compare the similes in Virgil, Æn. xii. 701, and vii. 785, where the hero is compared to Mount Athos, or Eryx, or Apennine, and where the figure of Chimæra vomits flames on the crest of the helmet. But Milton surpasses all. —*(N.)*

991. Thus Homer says, the terrors that must have ensued on a conflict between Jupiter and Neptune would have reached the depth of hell, (Il. xv. 24.)

996. Thus, before the combat between Hector and Achilles in the 22d book of the Iliad, and before the combat of Æneas and Turnus, Æn. xii. Jupiter weighs the event in a balance. Thus, (Dan. v. 26,) the king of Babylon is weighed in a balance. But Milton's description has a peculiar beauty by his allusion to the sign Libra. This idea of weighing the creation first, and all things since, is very sublime, and conformable to the style of Scripture. See Job xxviii. 25; xxxvii. 16; Isai. xl. 12; 1 Sam. ii. 3; Prov. xvi. 2; Dan. v. 26, 27.—*(N., Ad.)*

1003. All this refers to Satan exclusively.—"Parting," *i. e.* going off.—*(N.)*

1014. He does not make the ascending scale the sign of victory as in Homer and Virgil, but of lightness as in Dan. v. 27, "Thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting." Eustathius observes, that in Homer the descent of the scale to the earth is made a sign of disaster and death, the earth being the place of misfortune and mortality. But in Milton, as Satan was immortal, the sinking of it could not signify death, but the mounting of it did his lightness, conformably to the passage in Daniel. The passages from Homer and Virgil already mentioned are these; Il. xxii. 209 :—

Και τοτε δη χρυσεια πατηρ ετιταινε ταλαντα,
Εν δ' ετιθει δυο κηρε τανηλεγεος θανατοιο,
Την μεν Αχιλληος, την δ' Εκτορος ἱπποδαμοιο·
Ἑλκε δε μεσσα λαβων· ῥεπε δ' Εκτορος αισιμον ημαρ,
Ωιχετο δ' εις αϊδαο· λιπεν δε ἑ Φοιβος Απολλων.

Æn. xii. 725 :—

"Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine lances
Sustinet, et fata imponit diversa duorum;
Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere lethum."

Here it is to be observed, that Milton differs from Homer and Virgil: in the latter the fates of the two combatants are weighed, in order to satisfy Jupiter himself and not the parties; and the descent of one of the scales foreshowed the death of the party whose fate lay in it: but in Milton *only Satan* is weighed, the consequence (or *sequel*) of his *parting* or retreating being placed in one scale, and the consequence of his fighting being placed

in the other; and he is weighed, not to satisfy the Almighty, but the contending parties, so that Satan may read his own doom. The scale in which lay the weight that was the *sequel* of his *fighting*, by ascending showed him that he was *light in arms*, and could not be victorious; whereas the other scale, in which was the *sequel* or consequence of his retreating or *parting*, by descending showed him that to retreat was his wisest course.—*(Pope, P., N.)*

BOOK V.

1, 2. As Homer calls the morning "rosy-fingered," ῥοδοδακτυλος, Milton here gives her "rosy steps," and (vi. 3,) a "rosy hand." The morn is first "gray" (so "gray dawn," vii. 373,) then "rosy" upon the nearer approach of the sun. Thyer says this metaphorical expression, "sowed the earth with orient pearl," from the resemblance of *dew*-drops to scattered pearl seeds, is better than the phrase in Lucretius, b. ii. 211, "lumine conserit arva," sows the fields with light. Spenser, Fairy Queen, IV. v. 45, uses the expression "pearly dew."—*(N.)* "Her steps advancing." So Lat. *pedem, gradum, promovere.*—"Customed," for accustomed. So Lat. *suetus* for *assuetus.*

5—8. "Which" refers to "sleep." *Dispersing sleep* is in imitation of Sophocles, Trachin. 1006:—

Και μη σκεδασαι
Τῳ δ' απυ κρατος βλεφαρων θ' ὑπνον.

"The only sound," *i. e.* the sound *alone.* So Fairy Queen, V. xi. 30:—

"As if *the only sound* thereof she feared."

So also vii. 123, "*only* omniscient," for omniscient alone.—"Fuming." *Fumes* or steams rise from the water in the morning. So "steaming lake," 186.—"Aurora's fan," *i. e.* the fanning morning breeze among the leaves It is not unusual (at least in Greek and Latin) to refer a thing following two substantives to the first only of the two.—"Shrill matin song of birds," is a translation of a line in Sophocles, Electra xviii.: εωα κινει φθεγματ' ορνιθων σαφη. Thus Evander is waked in Virgil, Æn. viii. 456:—

"Evandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitat alma,
Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus."

And Arminia likewise in Tasso is waked by the sweet noise of birds, winds, and waters; c. vii. st. 5.—*(N., Th., T.)* "Song" is the nominative case to the preceding verb. It is not unusual in the ancient classic authors to place the verb between its various subjects. I think "matin" here means more than *morning.* Matins were morning hymns; and thus the birds, as it were, now sing their morning prayer. This very thing he expresses, 196, &c.

13. Compare Lucretius, b. i. 36:—

"Atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta
Pascit amore avidos, inhians in te, dea, visus;
Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore.—*(Stil.)*

16. For this delightful simile Milton was probably indebted to his admired Ben Jonson in his mask of "Love reconciled to Pleasure," 3d song:—

"The fair will think you do 'em wrong—
Go choose among; but with a mind
As gentle, as the stroaking wind
Runs o'er the gentler flowers."—*(Th.)*

18. I cannot but notice that in the conferences between Adam and Eve, Milton had his eye very frequently on Solomon's book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally placed near the age of Solomon. I think there is no question but, in the first speech, he remembered those two passages, Cant. ii. 10, &c. and vii. 11, 12, which are spoken on a like occasion, and filled with the same pleasing images of nature. "Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of the singing of birds is come, &c.; the fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grapes yield a good smell, &c. Let us go up early to the vineyards; let us see whether the tender grapes appear, and the pomegranate bud forth, &c."—*(Ad.)*

21. "The prime," the prime or best part of day. So 170, and ix. 200.

Primum in Latin is used without its substantive to mean the best or most important part.

30. The poet, by representing in the foregoing book Satan lying close by the ear of Eve as she slept, in order to inspire her with thoughts of vanity, pride, and ambition, prepares with wonderful art the reader for the several occurrences that follow, and for the nature of the dream. Though the vision itself is founded on truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency which are natural to a dream; and described with those breaks that are well adapted to the condition of one just awakened, before the thoughts are well collected.—*(Ad., Stil.)*

31, 32. "Have dreamed—if dreamed." Of such repetitions, from a point of doubt, Horace has an eminent instance, iv. Od. iii. 24:—

"Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est."
(D.)

38. So the deceitful dream begins his message to Agamemnon, Il. ii 23:—

Ενδειε Ατρεος υιε, &c.—*(Cal.)*

41. Spenser, in his Epithalamion, a poem which Milton seems often to have in view, has "the bird's *love learned* song." So 44, he again imitates Spenser, Fairy Queen, III. xi. 45:—

"With how many eyes high heaven beholds."

Milton sometimes takes great liberties in the use of his genders. In these passages heaven and the nightingale are masculine, as the speech is addressed to Eve; but in vi. 879; vii. 205, 574, heaven is feminine; and the nightingale, though it is the cock that really sings, he usually makes of the feminine gender, as iii. 40; iv. 602; vii. 436.—*(N.)* When he makes heaven feminine, (vi. 879,) he there makes hell feminine, and both very properly, as places teeming with living beings; and when he makes the singing nightingale female, he only follows mythology.

45. "Nature's desire." "Desire" here is used as *desiderium* in Latin sometimes is, to signify the *object* of one's love. So Cic. xiv. Fam. Ep. 2, in fin.: "Valete, desideria mea, valete." So Catul. ii. 5:—

"Cum *desiderio meo* nitenti
Carum nescio quid jocari."

48. The following passages have been quoted as somewhat analogous to this:—Ennius apud Ciceronem de Divinit. i. 20:—

"——— ita sola
Post illa, germana soror, errare videbar,
Tardaque vestigare, et quærere te, neque posse
Corde capessere; semita nulla pedem stabilibat."

Virg. Æn. iv. 466:—

"——— Agit ipse furentem
In somnis ferus Æneas; semperque relinqui
Sola sibi, semper longam incomitata videtur
Ire viam, et Tyrios deserta quærere terra."
(N., D.)

56. So the ambrosial hair of Æneas exhaled a heavenly fragrance. Æn. i. 403:—

"Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere."

Todd says that Spenser, Fairy Queen, VII. vi. 30, has the words "his nectar-dewed locks."

61. Johnson quotes this line as an instance of *reserve* signifying *prohibition*.

63. "Why else set here?" *i. e.* than as a good offered.

74. See the flattering address of the Syrens to Ulysses, Odyss. xii. 184: δευρ' αγ' ιων, &c. But here, as elsewhere, Milton improves every hint.—*(Stil.)*

93. "Night." The word is used for dreams and visions of the night. Sil. Ital. iii. 216:—

"Promissa evolvit somni, *noctemque retractat*."
(H.)

100. It has been often remarked that Milton had precedents for this account of dreams (which has been pronounced as philosophical as it is beautiful) in Sir T. Davies' account of *phantasie* in his "Nosce teipsum," and in Burton's account of phantasie in his famous work, "The Anatomy of Melancholy."—*(D.)* The original passages I think too voluminous to quote here. Milton has, in his own masterly way, concentrated all their essence.

117. "God" here must mean *angel*, as in 60 and 70; for "God cannot be tempted with evil," as St. James says, i. 13.—*(N.)*

122. "Deme supercilio nubem." Hor. i. Ep. xviii. 94. See Gier. Liber. vii. 25. —*(D.)*

124. Shakspeare, Rom and Jul. ii. 3:—

"The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night."

(See iii. 424.) *i.e.* Than fair morning is wont to be when first she smiles, &c.—*(T.)*

127.—"Bosomed." Johnson quotes this passage as an illustration of "to bosom," signifying, "to conceal in privacy;" it means here, wrapped up.

129. A manner of speaking that occurs in Jeremiah xx. 7: "Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived."—*(N.)*

132. Fairy Queen, III. vii. 9:—

"With that adowne out of her *christall eyne*
Few trickling tears she *softly* forth let fall.
That like two *orient perles* did purely shyne
Upon her snowy cheeke."—*(T.)*

Milton, besides condensing this description, beautifully gives the addition of her wiping the first tears with her hair, and his kissing off the next ones.

137. Pearce, who is followed by the best modern critics, proposes here (I think judiciously) to expunge the comma after "roof:" the construction being, that as soon as they were come forth from under the roof of the arbour, they bowed adoring in the open air. He says, by retaining the comma, it would seem as if they prayed *from under the roof*, and *in open sight of the sun* at the same time.

140, 141. Spenser, Fairy Queen, V. ix. 35, uses the words "western brim," and, I. v. 2, "dewy hair," in reference to the sun.—*(Cal., T.)*

145. Milton, who was no friend to set forms of prayer, ascribes extemporaneous effusions to our first parents. See iv. 736.—*(N., Th.)* He makes them pray too in the open air after they quitted the bower.

153. Milton fully realises in this hymn the high expectations raised by his previous description—"various style—holy rapture—prompt eloquence." He calls not only on the angels, (who, as they approached nearest to the unspeakable or indescribable Creator, could best know him and speak of him,) but on the most conspicuous parts of creation, to extol him. This is quite suited to Adam and Eve, to whom the objects of creation were new, and who could have no knowledge of the various dispensations of Providence which may afford various topics of praise to their posterity. The whole is a most poetical paraphrase of the 148th Psalm. —*(Add., N.)*

155. See Book of Wisdom, xiii. 3—5. —*(N.)*

162. See 645.—"Day without night," means, day without such *dark* night as we on earth have. See Rev. xxi. 25; Isai. lx. 20.—*(N., D.)*

165. Theocrit. Idyl xvii. 3:—

——— ἐν πρώτοισι λεγέσθω
Καὶ πρώτιστος καὶ μέσσοις.

But Milton surpasses this by adding 'without end," as he is celebrating the infinite God.—*(N.)*

166. Il. xxii. 318:—

[illegible]

So Ov. Met. ii. 114:—

"— diffugerunt stellæ, quarum agmina cogit
Lucifer, et cœli statione novissimus exit."

Here Milton, by a poetic license, appears to confound Venus with Hesperus.—*(N.)*

168. Thus Homer describes the morning star, Il. xxiii. 226:—

Ἕωσφόρος ἐλθὼν φῶτα πανὼν ἔτι γαῖαν.
Ὅν τε μετ' ἀμφοτέρωλον ὑπεὶρ ἁλὸς ὀὐρανὸν ἔρχεται.

171—173. Ovid, Met. iv. 228, calls the sun the eye of the world, "mundi oculus:" and Pliny, Nat. Hist. i. 6, the soul of the world, "hunc mundi totius esse animum;" and Virgil, Æn. ii. 226, calls the sun and heavenly bodies, *eternal* fires, "vos æterni ignes."—*(N.)*

175—178. The construction is "Moon, that now fliest from, now meetest the sun (*i. e.* according as she approaches or recedes from him in his monthly course), *together* with the fixed stars, and ye five other fires, resound his praise." There should be a comma after "fly'st." Though these stars are fixed in their orb, yet this orb moves with the utmost rapidity. He speaks according to appearance, (see viii. 19, 21.) Bentley thinks that, as after Venus, the Sun, and the Moon, only four planets, *i. e.* Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn remained, we should read here *four*, not *five*. But to defend the text we must suppose, either that he does not consider the morning star as the planet Venus, or that he includes the Earth to make up the five, as, viii. 129, he makes the earth a planet.—"Song;" in allusion to the Pythagorean doctrine of the music of the spheres, by which no doubt he understood the proportion, regularity, and harmony of their motions. Shakspeare speaks of it more fully in his Merchant of Venice, act v.:—

"There's not the smallest orb that thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim;
Such harmony is in immortal souls!
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear."
(N.)

Newton further says, "*wandering* fires" is used in opposition to "*fixed* stars." But Dunster, I think more correctly, supposes the phrase to be in allusion to their Greek name, πλανῆται, *wanderers*.

181. "In quaternion run," *i. e.* that in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another in succession, and by this ceaseless fluctuation and transmutation continuing the nature

of the world, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus borrowed from Orpheus. See Cicero, de Nat. Deor. ii. 33.—*(N.)*

193. Fairy Queen, VII. vii. 8:—

"Most dainty *trees*, that shooting up anon,
Did seem to *bow* their bloss'ming *heads* full lowe
For homage unto her."—*(T.)*

197. "Souls" here is used, as it sometimes is in Scripture, for other creatures besides man.—*(N.)*

198. Shakspeare, 29th sonnet:—

"Like as the lark at break of day arising
From sullen earth sings hymns at heaven's gate."—*(N.)*

202. Dr. Bentley would read here, "if *we* (not *I*) be silent;" and in the next verse but one, "*our* (not *my*) song," as both Adam and Eve shared in this hymn. But Milton rather imitates the Greek chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular is used. The same is frequently practised by our poet in the speeches of the chorus in Samson Agonistes. This hymn, which naturally divides itself into interlocutory parts, was set to music some years ago, and the several parts of it were assigned distinctively to Adam and to Eve.—*(P.)*

206. He had his thoughts, as Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated prayer in the Second Alcibiades of Plato:—

Ζευ βασιλευ τα μεν εσθλα και ενχομενοις και ανευκτοις
Αμμι διδου, τα δε λυγρα και ενχομενων απερυκε.

"O Jove, our king, give us good things, both when we pray and do not pray for them; and remove from us evil things, even though we pray for them." And we learn from the first book of Xenophon's memoirs of his master Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the gods for good things only, as *they knew best what things were so*. And to the same purpose there is an excellent collect in our Liturgy for the eighth Sunday after Trinity.—*(N.)* The celebrated 10th Satire of Juvenal inculcates this all through.

214. "Pampered boughs." "Pampered" here is used with great propriety. *Pampre*, French, *pampinus*, Latin, means a vine-branch full of leaves. And a vineyard is said by the French *pamprer* when overgrown with superfluous leaves and unprofitable branches.—*(Junius.)*

216. Hor. Epod. ii. 9:—

"Ant adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos."

Ovid. Met. xiv. 661, more fully, and more in accordance with Milton:—

"Ulmus erat contra, spatiosa tumentibus uvis,
Quam socia postquam pariter cum vite probavit;
At si staret, ait, cœlebs sine palmite truncus,
Nil præter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet;
Hæc quoque quæ juncta vitis requiescit in ulmo
Si non nupta foret, terræ acclinata jaceret."
(N.)

221. See iv. 170. "Sociable" and "Raphael" are dissyllables here. See note on 285.

224. Milton in the following scene seems to have had his eye in a particular manner on the 9th canto of Tasso's Jerusalem, lviii. 60. 1, 2.—*(St. and Th.)*

235. This is a pure Latinism, the substantive pronoun being supplied out of the preceding adjective, and regulating the government of the following words—happiness in the power of him left free, &c.; so "left" is the genitive agreeing with *him*, taken out of "his."—*(W.)*

249. "Ardours," from the Latin *ardor*, which signifies a "fiery nature, fervent love," an appropriate epithet of an angel. Thyer thinks it must be limited to the class of seraphim: *zeraph* in Hebrew signifying to burn.

254. Thus heaven's gates in Homer, Il. v. 749, opened spontaneously:—

αυτομαται δε πυλαι μυκον ουρανου, ας εχον ωραι.

See vii. 206.

258—260. "No cloud or star being interposed (ablat. absol.) he sees the earth, however small at that great distance it appears, not unlike other shining globes, and in it Paradise, which was crowned with cedars rising higher than the highest hills."—*(N.)*

261—265. Raphael surveying the earth from heaven's gates, is compared to an astronomer looking through Galileo's telescope at the distant objects in the moon, but with less accurate vision than Raphael's; or to a pilot in the Archipelago looking out for the Cyclades, a cluster of islands in that sea, and observing the largest of them, Delos or Samos, appearing first like specks far away in the horizon.—"Glass observes," by a poetic figure common in the ancient classics, for "a person through the glass observes."—*(N.)*

272. Milton means, that when at the highest pitch of an eagle's flight, Raphael *seemed* to the birds like a phœnix. The phœnix was a bird of uncommon largeness and beauty, according to the accounts of mythology, and the only one of its species: after living five or six hundred years, it built for itself a funeral pile of

aromatic wood and gums, which were kindled by the rays of the sun. From the ashes there arose a full-grown young phœnix, which bore the relics of the sire to Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, and there deposited them in the temple of the sun, the other birds attending and gazing on him in his flight. See Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 2; Ovid, Met. xv.; and Claudian, de Phœnice. Tasso, Gier. Liber. xvii. 35, compares Armida to a phœnix.—*(N.)*

275. There the gate was. A good angel (like the Good Shepherd) could enter at the gate; not like Satan, who, as a thief climbing over the roof, flew over it. See iv. 181.—*(N.)*

276. *i. e.* Gathered up his wings, and looked in his proper character, an angel; having no longer the appearance of a phœnix.

277. See Isaiah vi. 2.—*(N.)*

284. Alluding to feathers on a bird lying short of one another, like plaits on a coat of mail.—"Sky-tinctured" expresses beauty and durableness; "grain," any dyed substance — *(R.)*

285. Homer, Il. xxiv. 333, &c. and Virgil, Æn. iv. 238, &c. have given elaborate descriptions of the flight of "Maia's son," Mercury, from heaven to earth, on a mission from the Almighty of benevolence to man, to guide and to warn him. Milton, who has exerted the whole force of his imagination, and lavished all the embellishments of imagery and diction, on his description of the flights of Raphael and Satan, has adopted, and as usual improved, every hint in the descriptions of his great architypes which was suited to his purpose. As these descriptions are referred to in my notes on other passages of the poem, and as the reader may wish to form his own judgment, I quote at length:—

— Τω δ' ου λαθον ευρυοπα Ζην
Εις πεδιον προφανεντε ιδων δ' ελεησε γεροντα·
Αιψα δ' αρ Ερμειαν υιον φιλον αντιον ηυδα,
Ερμεια, σοι γαρ τε μαλιστα γε φιλτατον εστιν
Ανδρι εταιρισσαι, και τ' εκλυες, ῳ κ' εθελησθα
* * * * *
Ὡς εφατ'· ουδ' απιθησε διακτορος Αργειφοντης·
Αυτικ' επειθ' υπο ποσσιν εδησατο καλα πεδιλα
Αμβροσια, χρυσεια, τα μιν φερον ημεν εφ' υγρην
Ηδ' επ' απειρονα γαιην, αμα πνοιῃς ανεμοιο·
Ειλετο δε ῥαβδον, τῃ τ' ανδρων ομματα θελγει
Ὡν εθελει, τους δ' αυτε και υπνωοντας εγειρει·
Την μετα χερσιν εχων πετετο κρατυς Αργειφοντης
Αιψα δ' αρα Τροιην τε και Ελλησποντον ικανε,
Βη δ' ιεναι κουρῳ αισυμνητηρι εοικως
Πρωτον υπηνητῃ, του περ χαριστατη ηβη.

Jupiter looking down from heaven, beholding with pity old Priam, the father of his people, soon about to be exposed to danger from the direst enemy of his race, summons Mercury, his messenger, who on other occasions performed friendly offices to man, and despatches him to earth to hold social intercourse with the king, to advise and guide him. The winged messenger promptly obeys; and binding on his feet his wings, down speeds his flight. Compare with this 220, 221, 229, 230, 247, 248. It is unnecessary to point out the immeasurable superiority of Milton in his description of the progress of Raphael's flight – the spontaneous opening of heaven's gates—the first view of earth, looking like a distant speck of land in the ocean—his sailing between worlds and worlds—his resemblance on his approach to earth, while high in the air, to a phœnix—the gorgeous picture of his wings—and his appearance in Paradise in his native majesty, (for it is in his graceful posture, after he alights, that he is chiefly compared to Mercury,) with that matchless accompaniment of his shaking his plumes, and diffusing a heavenly fragrance wide around. Compare Michael's descent, Gier Liber. ix. 60.

"Dixerat. Ille patris magni parere parabat
Imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit
Aurea; quæ sublimem alis, sive æquora supra,
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant;
Tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes; alias sub Tartara tristia mittit;
Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat:
Illa fretus agit ventos, et turbida tranat
Nubila: jamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
Atlantis duri, cœlum qui vertice fulcit;
Atlantis, cinctum assidue cui nubibus atris
Piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri
* * * * *
Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
Constitit: hinc toto præceps se corpore ad undas
Misit, avi similis quæ circum littora, circum
Piscosos scopulos, humilis volat æquora juxta"

Virgil, who labours to improve on Homer, represents Jupiter as sending Mercury to warn Æneas of his danger in disobeying the divine injunction, and neglecting the high destinies in store for him. Here Mercury "flies close by the surface of the sea." So Satan (ii.634) "shaves with level wing the deep." In Homer, Mercury's wings bear him "over moist and o'er the boundless earth." In Virgil, they "bear him over sea and earth." Milton embraces all; for (iii. 652) God's angels "bear his swift erranda over moist and dry, o'er sea and land." Mercury

lights on Mount Atlas, and thence throws himself headlong to the waves. Satan (iii. 70) does much more; for he

"Down from the ecliptic, sped with hop'd success,
Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
Nor staid till on Nephates' top he lights."

Virgil represents "the pine capped head of Atlas, girt day by day with gloomy clouds, beat with the wind and rain." Milton (ii. 587) represents a whole "frozen continent dark and wild, beat with perpetual storm of whirlwind and dire hail." Mercury drives "the winds, and swims through troubled clouds." Raphael here "sails on the polar winds (the strongest of all winds, and) with steady wing;" and Satan does more, for he (ii. 1014) "through the shock of fighting elements on all sides round environed wins his way." Virgil compares Mercury to a sea-bird winging close along the cliffs; but Raphael is like the phœnix soaring in mid heaven. Thus the reader will see with what masterly power he embellishes whatever he touches, and how superior is his description to both those.

288. Virg. Ecl. vi. 66:—

"Utque viro Phœbi chorus assurrexerit omnis."

Homer, alluding to the heavenly messenger Iris, Il. xxiii. 203—

— τοι δ' ώς ιδον οφθαλμοισι
Παντες ανηΐξαν, καλεον δε.—(*Cal.*)

296. "Pouring forth enormous bliss," which was the more sweet, as it was "wild above rule or art."—(*N.*)

299. See Gen. xviii. 1.

300. See 370. Milton frequently conveys the classical notion of the sun mounting up and descending in a chariot. Virg. Georg. iii. 359:—

"Nunc quum invectus equis altum petit æthera, nunc quum
Præcipitem oceani rubro lavit æquore currum."—(*Cal.*)

326, 327. "Boughs" refers to fruit trees; "plant," what produces such fruit as strawberries; "brake," a shrub between trees and plants, producing currants, gooseberries, raspberries, &c.; "gourd," every productive leafy thing that lies on the ground."—(*P.*)

331. See Il. ix. 205.

333. "What choice to choose." There are many instances of this jingling combination of words of the same signification in the best classic authors. Ter. And. v. 5. 8:—

"Nam hinc scio mea solide solum *gavisurum gaudia.*"

Æn. xii. 680:—

"Hunc oro sine me *furere* ante *furorem.*"

339—341. "Middle shore," the Mediterranean shore.—"In Pontus," where the rich and powerful Mithridates reigned.—"Punic coast," the maritime country of the wealthy Carthaginians.—"Alcinous;" Homer, in the Odyssey, has immortalized the gardens of Alcinous, king of the island Phœacia, or Corcyra, now Corfu.

345. "Must," (*mustum,*) new wine; Milton adds, "inoffensive," not fermented, therefore not intoxicating.—"Meaths," pleasant drinks like mead.—(*Th.*)

349. "Unfumed." Not burned, or emitting steam or smoke as in fumigation; but it was natural odour.—(*Heyl.*)

351. Bentley says, that to avoid a solecism here, we should read "with no more train than with," &c.

356. "Besmear'd with gold." Hor. iv. Od. ix. 14:—"Aurum vestibus illitum."

361, 362. The sentiment and turn of words here resemble what Æneas says to Venus, Æn. i. 327:—

"O quam te memorem, virgo, namque haud tibi vultus
Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat, O Dea certe."—(*Th.*)

369. *i. e.* To taste as you sit. See note on ii. 917.

371. "Angelic virtue," the angel; a Homeric expression: thus Homer uses, Πριαμοιο βιην, the strength of Priam, for Priam himself, Il. iii. 105; and 'Εκτορος μενος, for Hector, Il. xiv. 418. So Virgil has "odora canum vis," for scenting dogs, Æn. iv. 132; and "vimque deum infernam," for the infernal deities, Æn. xii. 149.—(*H.*)

378. The goddess of fruit trees, Pomona, had not a more delightful arbour. See Ov. Met. xiv. 623.—(*N.*)

380. This calls to mind that memorable saying, "Induitur, formosa est; exuitur, ipsa forma est:" dressed, she is beautiful; undressed, she is beauty itself." With the same elegance of expression, he said of Adam, 353, "In himself was all his state."—(*N.*)

382. Alluding to the contest for superiority of beauty in presence of Paris, as the appointed judge between Juno, Minerva, and Venus.

384. "Proof," in the old poets, means armour. It is often used adjectively to

signify, impenetrable, capable of resisting. See Johnson.

387. See Luke i. 28. Mary is called "second Eve," as Christ sometimes is called "second Adam."—*(N.)*

394. "Autumn," for the fruits of autumn. Georg. ii. 5:—

——"pampineo gravidus autumno
Floret ager."—*(N.)*

396. "No fear lest dinner cool." These words have been censured as very undignified; but I think Milton, who was very temperate in his diet, wished to convey by them his low opinion of the luxurious and epicurean habits of his time. There are many allusions in Homer and Virgil more undignified.

406. "Of," here, as in other passages, means *by*.

407. Mention being made in Scripture of angels' food, Psalm lxxviii. 25, was foundation enough for Milton to advance the notion of angels eating.—*(N.)*

413. The prosody of this line is remarkable; the first foot is a pyrrhic, and the second a trochee.

415—426. Though modern discoveries have proved that some of Milton's philosophy is not correct here—for instance, the "spots" in the moon do not proceed from "vapours not yet turned into her substance," but from the inequalities of her surface, and the different nature of her constituent parts, land and water—yet, as a poet, and a man writing according to the ancient system of philosophy, he is excusable. It is allowed by all the old philosophers that the sun and fixed stars receive supplies of nourishment from other bodies: this thought runs through an ode of Anacreon, Od. xix.:

Η γη μελαινα πινει,
Πινει δε δενδρε' αυτην,
Πινει θαλασσα δ' αυρας,
Ο δ' ηλιος θαλασσαν,
Τον δ' ηλιον σεληνη.

"The dark earth imbibes, and the trees imbibe her, and the sea imbibes the air, and the sun the sea, and the moon the sun." Pliny, ii. 9, gives the same account as Milton, of the spots in the moon.—*(N.)*

421. A classical idiom. See note on 548. Virg. Georg. i. 83:—

"*Nec nulla* interea est inaratæ gratia terræ."

426, &c. In mentioning "trees of life," and "vines" in heaven, he is justified by Scripture, Matt. xxvi. 29; Rev. xxii. 2.—Afterwards "mellifluous dews," and "pearly grain," allude to manna, which is called the bread of heaven, "and was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey," Exod. xvi.—*(N.)*

435. "Gloss," from γλωσσα, a comment. Several of the ancient doctors of divinity were of opinion that the angels did not eat in reality, but only seemed to do so; but Milton follows the account in Gen. xviii. and xix. where it is plainly stated that the angels entertained by Abraham and Lot *did eat*.—*(N.)*

438. "Redounds." *i. e.* The superabundant part, which does not mix with the blood by way of nutriment, evaporates.

439. *i.e.* Nor is it any wonder that angels have concoctive heat within them to turn their food into their own substance, to "turn corporeal into incorporeal," if by fire the alchymist can turn, or imagines he can turn, basest metals to gold.—"Empyric," (εμπειρικος, from πειρα, an attempt,) one who makes trials without much skill, like a quack in physic.—*(N.)*

445. The Greeks and Romans used the phrase "crown the cup," or the wine, to mean "to fill it up brim full." Il. i. 47:—

Κουροι μεν κρητηρας επεστεψαντο ποτοιο.

So Virg. Æn. has "crateras coronant," and "vina coronant."

447. The repetition of "then," adds great emphasis. See Gen. vi. 2, and note on iii. 463.

451. Il. i. 469:—

Αυταρ επει ποσιος και εδητυος εξ ερον εντο.

Milton adds a fine moral, "not burdened nature." See xi. 530.—*(N.)*

452. "Sudden mind arose in Adam," quite a classical mode of expression.

456. "Excellence" is a general word, which he divides into two particulars, "radiant forms," (which were the effulgence of the Deity) and their "high power."—*(P.)*

468. As the Almighty sent Raphael to "bring on discourse" with Adam, in order to take that opportunity of pointing out to him his duty, and of warning him, Milton very judiciously represents Adam as at first framing a "wary speech," in order to elicit information, without exhibiting presumptuous inquisitiveness; and Raphael as taking the hint before any direct question is asked, and then commencing with a general dissertation. Had Raphael at once entered on the subject of his mission, it would appear harsh,

and at once imply distrust in Adam's obedience and fidelity. (*Gr.* and *Ad.*)

472. *i. e.* All being created perfect in their different *kinds* (not absolutely) and consisting of one first matter which is endued with various forms and degrees of substance and life.—(*N.*)

475, 476. Spenser, in his Hymn of Heavenly Beauty, has a similar thought. —(*Th.*) The word "spirituous" is here a trisyllable; *spiritous* is another reading.

478. Newton censures Milton's metaphysics here, as attributed to an archangel; but says that Milton may have meant a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual, as in 1 Cor. xv.

482. "Spirits" is here a dissyllable, though often, as in second next line, a monosyllable; and "odorous" has here the second syllable long, though elsewhere, as iv. 166, it has it short.—(*N.*)

488. "Discourse" here means human reason (*discursus*, or running to and fro to arrive at a certain point; figuratively applied to the operations of the mind, in arriving from the premises at a result, through many stages.) Locke (Human Understanding) says, intuition, which requires no process of proofs, is peculiar to angels; whereas reasoning, which does require those intermediate operations, is characteristic of man.—"The latter," i. e. *intuition* (angelic reason), classically understood out of "intuitive."

498. "Tract of time," a long period of time, (*tractu temporis.*) *Tractus* sometimes is applied to length. Milton, in the commencement of his poem, says that Adam brought "death" into the world, strictly speaking, and not figuratively. This was the opinion of many primitive fathers and of the best divines. —(*N.*)

504. "Your fill," *i. e. to* your fill, like the Latin *in plenum.*

510. "Centre," *i. e.* one first material centre, as expressed before, to the utmost limits of creation which the power of man can comprehend. He alludes to the Platonic philosophy, of rising gradually from the consideration of particular created beauty to that which is universal and uncreated.—(*Th., R.*)

520. He fully observes here the precept of Horace, Art. Poet. 335: "Quicquid præcipies esto brevis;" for the sentences are short, and split up into a number of distinct precepts.—(*N.*)

546. See iv. 680.

548. *i. e.* I well knew I was free in will and deed; two negatives classically used, as constituting an increased affirmative. See note on i. 335.

551. *i. e.* The single or sole prohibition of eating the forbidden fruit.

557. *i. e.* Silence such as should be observed in religious rites. Hor. ii. Od. xiii. 29:—

> "Utrumque *sacro digna silentio*
> Mirantur umbræ dicere."—(*R.*)

563. There are eleven syllables in this line: in the scansion, the *e* in "me" is to be absorbed. According to the general rules of epic poetry, the principal events which happened before the action of the poem commences, are introduced by way of episode. Thus, as Homer's Ulysses relates his previous adventures to Alcinous, and Virgil's Æneas recounts to Dido the siege of Troy and his own travels, so the angel here relates to Adam the fall of angels and the creation of the world, and commences much in the same manner as Æneas does, Æn. ii. 3:—

> "Infandum regina jubes renovare dolorem."
> (*N.*)

568. Æn. vi. 226:—

> "Sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro
> Pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas."
> (*Stil.*)

573. "Spiritual" here is a trisyllable; and "corporal" a dissyllable.

574. Milton, in order to make Adam comprehend these mysteries, represents Raphael as saying that he must liken things spiritual to things corporal; and questioning whether there be not a greater resemblance between things in heaven and on earth, than most men comprehend. A similar doctrine is to be found in Cicero, Fragm. Timæus, ad initium. Thus the poet prepares the reader for receiving as facts many of his representations of these æthereal spirits, especially in the battle scenes.—(*N., T.*) This palliating explanation of Milton the reader should bear in mind, as being a full answer to the cold cavils of some critics on parts of his representations of the angels, or his *machines.*

575. "The shadow of heaven," in scansion, constitute only two feet.

579. See vii. 242. So Ovid, Met. i. 13, says of the earth, "Ponderibus librata suis,"—kept evenly balanced by her own weight.

583. See the same thought, 861. He seems to have in view Plato's great year of the heavens, or complete revolution of all the spheres, when every thing was to return to the same place whence it set

out. (Auson. Idyl. xviii. 15.) Virgil, Ecl. iv. 5:—

"Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

The thought of this summoning of the heavenly host, Milton seems to have taken from Job i. 6; 1 Kings xxii. 19.—*(R., N.)*

589. "Gonfalons." An Italian word for *banners*; properly, the Pope's standard, which was displayed with great pomp. Milton, it is said, was fond of referring to the splendid scenes and exhibitions he witnessed in Italy. So, 592, 593, he is supposed to have had in view the procession, on the great festivals, of the banners of the saints, on which were inscribed or painted memorials of their believed miracles. I do not think that he had here these processions particularly in view, so much as he had generally the "well devised shield, and curious banner" of the heroes of chivalry. Thus, vi. 84, he mentions the "shields various with boastful argument portrayed."

598, 599. This idea is taken from the Divine presence on Mount Sinai, Exod. xix. See note on iii. 380.

602, &c Compare Psalm ii. 6, 7; Gen. xxii. 16; Phil. ii. 10; Heb. i. 5; Isa. xlv. 23. So cautiously does Milton, when he represents the Almighty speaking, confine himself to the sentiments, and even phrases of Scripture.—*(N., T.)* Compare Jupiter's address to the assembled deities, Il. viii. when he pronounces his irrevocable decree, and threatens the disobedient; which I think to the point:—

Κεκλυτε μευ παντες τε θεοι, πασαι τε θεαιναι,
Οφρ' ειπω τα με θυμος ενι στηθεσσι κελευει
Μητε τις ουν θηλεια θεος τυγε, μητε τις αρσην
Πειρατω διακερσαι εμον επος: αλλ' αμα παντες
Αινειτ'.

603. "This day I have begot whom I declare." This line strikes me as very objectionable. There appears a marked contradiction between it and 836, 837, and other passages. This the commentators have overlooked. If he was begotten on that day only,—the day before Satan's rebellion, how could he be called the Creator of all things, even the spirits of heaven, &c.? It is no answer to say, that to the Almighty the past, present, and future are one; for we are only to consider whether the poet, who introduces these divisions of time in heaven, in order to make us comprehend the progress of events there by "likening things spiritual to tempo[illegible]-tent. I think then the whole difficulty would be removed by a transposition of words, thus:

"I have begot whom I declare this day."

This arrangement would not interfere with the account of the creation, nor with what Satan says, 856, &c. Satan's objection to Messiah was not on account of the recency or antiquity of his existence, but to the delegation of supreme power to him, which placed himself in a state of inferiority and dependence.

608, 609. The hymning and dancing all day long in honour of Apollo, and his listening delighted, in the first book of the Iliad, I think, did not escape Milton's recollection, 472:—

Οι δε παννημεριοι μολπη Θεον ιλασκοντο,
Καλον αειδοντες παιηονα, κουροι Αχαιων—
Μελποντες Εκαεργον· ὁ δε φρενα τερπετ' ακουων.

I may observe, too, that μελποντες means, singing and dancing together.

633—639. Odyss. v. 93:—

——— παρεθηκε τρ' ιπεζαν
Αμβροσιης πλησασα, κερασσε δε νεκταρ ερυθρον.

This feast is in its description much richer than the banquet of the gods in Homer's Iliad, iv. Homer's nectar is ruddy, *ερυθρον*; Milton's is "*rubied*." Homer's gods drink nectar in golden cups, *κρυσεοις δεπαεσσι*, but here the nectar flows "in pearl, in diamond, and massy gold." Every image here is dignified, and suited to the occasion.—"Secure of surfeit," *i. e.* in no danger, or fear, of it; "full measure only bounds excess," the utmost they are capable of containing is the only bound set to them.—*(N. Ban.)*

642. So Homer calls night "ambrosial," Il. ii. 97; and sleep, for the same reason, "ambrosial," v. 19, because it strengthens and refreshes.—*(N)*. Mr. Wyse, M.P. for Waterford, a great oriental traveller, and one of the best scholars I know, has told me that the word "ambrosial" (*αμβροσιη*) applied to night in Homer, evidently refers to the delightful serenity of the air, and the fragrant exhalations from the flowers, during the summer nights in Ionia (the country of Homer), which have a composing and invigorating effect.

643. See vi. 4.

647. So Psalm cxxi. 4; so Homer, Il. ii. 1:—

Αλλοι μεν ρα θεοι . . . .
Εὑδον παννυχιοι· Διι δ' ουκ εχε νηδυμος ὑπνος.

656. Thus the Muses sing around the throne of Jove, in Hesiod, Theog. 36. See also the last Olympic Ode of Pindar.

—"Hymns alternate." Sing hymns alternately, as in the choral service in cathedrals. *Alternare*, is to do a thing by turns.—*(St., T.)*—"Waked," watched, remained awake.

673, 674. Il. ii. 23:—

Ενθεις Ατρεως υἱε—

So Æn. iv. 560:—

"Nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?"

—"And remembrest," *i. e.* when thou remembrest. See note on ii. 730. Read a note of interrogation after "eyelids."

678. "How can thy sleep dissent." (A classical figure like that in 261: "As when the glass observes.") How can you by sleeping dissent?

684. "Chief." An adjective, like "chief" in ii. 469, used substantively for *chiefs.—(P.)*

685. "By command" *i. e.* of the Almighty. Satan is made to begin his rebellion with a lie; for "the devil is a liar and the father of lies," John viii. 44. *—(N.)*

689. "The quarters of the north." Jer. xiv.: "I will bring evil from the *north*, and a great destruction." St. Augustine, Ep. cxl. sec. 55, says, the devil and his angels are placed by a figure in the *north*, because, being averse from the fervour of charity, they grew torpid with an icy hardness. Isa. xiv.: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation in the sides of the *north*."—*(N.)* These passages were sufficient authority for Milton in placing the residence and rebellion of Satan in the north (see vi. 80), without taking the suggestion from the obscure poems of Sannazarius, Valmarana, or any other; or meaning any reflection on his enemies, the Scotch Presbyterians, as some critics fancy. It may be added, that Shakspeare calls Satan "Monarch of the North," 1 Hen. VI. act v.:—

"And ye choice spirits, that admonish me,
And give me signs of future accidents,
You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly *monarch of the north*."

702. "Suggested cause." The cause suggested by Satan, *i. e.* to receive their new king and his laws.—"Casts between ambiguous words," a phrase from Virgil, Æn. ii. 98:—

——"hinc spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas."—*(N.)*

708. So Virgil, Æn. viii. 589, compares Pallas to the morning star:—

"Qualis ubi oceani perfusus Lucifer unda . . .
Extulit os sacrum cœlo tenebrasque resolvit."

But there is much greater propriety in comparing Satan to the morning star, as he was called Lucifer, son of the morning.—*(N.)* See note on 689.

710. "Drew." So it is in Rev. xii. See note on iv. 1. *He* is understood before the verb. Nothing is more common with Milton than such ellipses. So, if we understand *he* before "said," line 718, the difficulty complained of by some commentators, as if "eternal eye," line 711, were the nominative case to "said," will disappear. The liberties are not unusual in the best ancient poets, of saying a thing at first which refers only to a particular quality or part of a person, and then proceeding in the narration, by saying a thing which refers to the person himself; thus, "the eye saw, and (he) said." So before, "his countenance allured them, and (he himself) drew after him." But it is questioned by some whether these nominatives, "countenance," and "eternal eye," are not used equivocally, to be construed as the sense requires. Spenser has a remarkable instance of this poetic license and irregularity in his Epithalamion, and it is repeated as here in Milton:—

"*Her* long loose yellow *locks*, like golden wire,
Sprinkled with perle, and perling flow'rs atweene,
Do like a golden mantle her *attire;*
And, being crowned with a girland green,
Seem like some maiden *queen:*
Her modest eyes, abashed to behold
So many gazers as on her do stare,
Upon the lowly ground *affixed are;*
Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,
But blush to hear her praises sung so loud,
So far from being proud."—*(See D., P., N.)*

713. So Rev. iv. 5: "And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne."—*(N.)*

716. "Sons of the morn," either on account of their early creation, or of their angelic beauty and gladness, the morning being the most delightful season of the day.—*(R.)*

718. So Psalm ii. 1: "The Lord shall *laugh;* the Lord shall hold them in derision." See 736, 737.—*(N.)*

719, 720. So Heb. i. 2, 3.—*(N.)*

721, &c. It is evident from God's smiling, 718, and the Son's words, 736, 737, that this speech is to be taken as irony.—*(Peck.)*

723. "Anciently," (*antiquitus,*) of old, from a remote period.

739. "Illustrates," (*illustrat,*) renders illustrious.

740. Read a semicolon after "pride."

746. This simile of the stars of morning, "dew-drops," is as new as it is beautiful. The sun "impearls" them, turns them by his reflected beams to seeming pearls. So verse 2.—*(N.)*

750. This notion of triples in all the economy of angels was taken from the schoolmen, and is adopted by Tasso, xviii. 96, and by Spenser, Fairy Queen, I. xii. 39:—

"Like as it had been many an angel's voice
Singing before the Eternal Majesty
In their *trinal triplicities* on high."—*(B.)*

753. "Globose." The adjective classically used for a substantive. *Globosus,* as always conveying the idea of solidity, differs from *rotundus,* which is sometimes applied to a mere surface—as, to a circle. Cic. in Somn. Scip. iii.: "stellæ globosæ et rotundæ."

760. Here Milton describes Satan's palace in the style of the palace of the sun in Ovid, Met. ii. 1:—

"Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
Clara micante auro, flammasque imitante pyropo;
Cujus ebur nitidum fastigia summa tegebat:
Argenti bifores radiabant lumine valvæ."

761. Homer mentions persons and things, which, he says, are called in the language of the gods by different names from those they go by in the language of men: which the commentators endeavour to explain; but the most probable of their explanations is, that he attributes to the gods those names which are used only by the learned, and to men those which are in vulgar use. Milton here imitates him with his usual judgment, wherein he has also the authority of Scripture.—*(N.)*

766. See note on 689.

790. See 860.

793. "Jar." A metaphor taken from music. Shakspeare uses a similar comparison, Hen. V. act i.:—

"For government, though high, and low, and lower,
Put into parts doth keep with one consent,
Congruing in a full and natural close,
Like music."

And in Troilus and Cressida, act i.:—

"Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark, what discord follows."—*(N.)*

797. Read a semicolon after "equal."

799. "Much less for this to be our Lord." This passage has occasioned much perplexity to the commentators. Newton explains it—"Much less (can he *assume* from 794) to be our Lord." Richardson and Greenwood think "this" is spoken contemptuously, as Luke xix. 14: *ου θελομεν τουτον* (this person) *βασιλευσαι εφ' ημας*:—"Much less can *he* introduce a law for *this*" (this being; this other, 775; this king anointed, 777) "to be our Lord." Warburton understands it thus:—"'Who can introduce law upon us who conduct our actions rightly without law? much less for this introduction of law claim the right of dominion;' for he thought the bare *giving* of civil laws did not introduce dominion, which consists in *dispensing* them." These are the most probable of the many explanations given; but still there is a difficulty attending each of them. It appears rather strained to understand (as Newton does) "assume" from 794, when another verb, "introduce," intervenes. According to Richardson's explanation, "who can assume," who "can introduce," are to be applied to the Almighty; whereas, it is clear, these words, and the whole sentence, have reference to the Son, now appointed vicegerent: and it appears over-refinement to suppose with Warburton that the *introduction* of law over them would give *less* claim to the right of dominion. Why give laws, if not dispense and enforce them?—May I venture to suggest another explanation, which is very simple, that there is here an ellipsis of the substantive verb *is,* which is very common in Milton, (as of *εστι* and *est* in Greek and Latin,) and that "this" is spoken contemptuously? (So he applies in the 1st and 2d book the personal pronoun contemptuously to the Almighty, without mentioning his name.) It appears from 603—610, that Christ was begotten, and appointed by the Father vicegerent, the day before (see note 603); and from 856—860, that Satan considered himself and his followers were natives of heaven from all eternity—self created, and therefore independent of Messiah; the meaning then being, according to this suggestion—"Much less *is it* (*est, εστι, is it just* or expedient, for so the words are sometimes used; see the Lexicons of Facciolati and Stephanus) *for this* (this new functionary) to exercise dominion over us, to the abuse and disparagement of our inherent right to govern." Thus the sentence, which constitutes a climax, consists of three arguments against this transfer of sovereignty to the Son: first, they were equally free with himself; secondly, they did not require the check of

law to keep them in a right course of conduct: thirdly, they were, according to the nature of their existence, ordained to govern—not to serve; and it was not for this newly elected being to reduce them from the condition of rulers to that of servants.

822. Rom. ix. 20.—*(N.)*

831. *i.e.* But suppose I grant to you that it is unjust, &c.; an unusual Græcism.

835. So Col. i. 16, 17: "For by him were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers."—*(N.)*

861. "Fatal course." The course appointed by fate; like *fatalis*, which sometimes has this meaning.

864. Virg. Æn. x. 773:—

"Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile libro."

—Shakspeare makes "puissance" *sometimes* a dissyllable, as 2 Hen. IV. act i.:—

"Upon the pow'r and *puissance* of the king."

So does Spenser. Milton *constantly* makes it and "puissant" so.—*(N.)*

868. "Address." To get ready; the sign of the infinitive mood being suppressed.

869. "Beseeching or besieging." There are examples of this jingle of words in the best authors. Ter. And. i. 3. 13:—

—— "inceptio est *amentium* haud *amantium*."

Shakspeare, Hamlet, act i.:—

"A little more than *kin* and less than *kind*."

(N.)

872. See Rev. xix. 6; see Il. ii. 209, 394. —*(N., St.)*

874. The first two feet are trochees. So vi. 34.

887. Psalm ii. 9: "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron." See ii. 327, note.

890. See Numb. xvi. 26. See Æschyl. Prom. Vinct. 1051—1053; Il. xv. 137. There is here an ellipsis, *but I fly*, lest, &c. See the same elliptical way of speaking, ii. 483.—*(St., P., N.)*

BOOK VI.

1. The grand feature of this book is the battle of angels, for which the poet raised the reader's expectation, and prepared him by several passages in the preceding books. So inflamed was his imagination with this great scene of action, that, wherever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself; as when he mentions Satan in the beginning of the poem, i. 44, &c.; also in the infernal council, i. 128, &c.; so ii. 165, &c. 988, &c. There are several other wonderfully sublime images on the same subject. In short the poet never mentions any thing of this battle but in such images of greatness and terror as are suitable to the subject. Those who examine Homer are surprised to find his battles still rising one above another, and improving in horror to the conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of angels is wrought up with the same beauty. It is ushered in with such signs of wrath, as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The first engagement is carried on under a cope of fire occasioned by the flight of burning spears and arrows. The second is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial thunders which seem to make the victory doubtful, and produce consternation even in the good angels. This is followed by the tearing up of mountains and promontories; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of majesty and terror. The pomp of his appearance amidst the roarings of his thunders, the flashes of his lightnings, and the rattling of his chariot wheels, is described with the utmost flights of human imagination.—*(Ad.)*

3. Homer, Il. v. 749, represents the Hours as guarding the gates of heaven:—

Αυτομαται δε πυλαι μυκον ουρανου, ας εχον Ωραι,
Τῃσι επιτετραπται μεγας ουρανος, Ουλυμπος τε,
Ημεν ανακλιναι πυκινον νεφος, ηδ' επιθεναι.

(N.)

6. This thought of making light and darkness lodge and dislodge by turns is in Hesiod, Theog. 748:—

—ὀθι νυξ τε και ἡμερα αμφις ιουσαι
Αλληλας προσεειπον, αμειβομεναι μεγον ουδον
Χαλκεον· ἡ μεν εσω καταβησεται, ἡ δε θυραζεν
Ερχεται, ουδε ποτ' αμφοτερας δομοι εντος εεργει.

(N.)

18. "Night shot through with orient beams." This expression, which some have censured, is, says Seward, (Ed. of Beaumont and Fletcher) not only highly poetical but just; the rays of light do literally shoot through the darkness. So Prudentius, Hymn ii. 6:—

"*Caligo terræ scinditur*
Solis percussa radiis."

Thus, in Psalm xci.: "The arrow that flieth by day," is the power of the sunbeams; a phrase employed by Lucretius, i. 148.—

"Non radii solis, neque lucida tela diei."
(T., Wart.)

18. Though Homer and other poets have many passages descriptive of the splendour of arms, Todd thinks Milton had the following passage in view,(1 Maccabees vi. 39): "Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistened therewith, and shined like lamps of fire." This passage is not very apposite. I do not think he had any one passage particularly in view: but from the *variety* of objects, as well as the pomp of diction and the uncommon harmony of numbers, I imagine the following beautiful passage in Homer is more to the point, Il. xiii. 340:—

——— ωσαι δ' αμερδεν
Αυγη χαλκειη κορυθων απο λαμπομενων,
Θωρηκων τε νεοσμηκτων, σακεων τε φαεινων,
Ερχομενων αμυδις.

19. "War in procinct." The Roman soldiers were said to be *in procinctu*, when their loose garments were girded up in readiness for battle. "Procinct" is hence figuratively applied to a state of full readiness for action. See Facciolati.

26. "They led and present." This is a remarkable instance of a peculiarity of construction (the first of two verbs coupled by the conjunction being in the past time historically, and the second in the present, as if the narrator wished to bring before the reader's imagination the picture of an existing event) of which Homer and the best classic authors furnish parallels.

29. "Well done." The translation of the Greek ευγη. So in the Battle of the Giants, Bacchus, for his great services, was styled by Jupiter, ενιος, (hence Evius)—ευ, *vle*. Abdiel, in Hebrew, means, "Servant of God." Dunster says, the poet had in recollection Matt. xxv. 21; Rom. i. 1; and 1 Tim. vi. 11.

34. This sentiment is so very natural, that every proud and honest person must see its justice. Beaumont and Fletcher, Beggar's Bush, act ii. sc. iii.:—

"A good man bears a contumely worse
Than he would do an injury."—*(N.)*

41. "Reason." Alluding to the word λογος.—*(N.)* I suppose in allusion to John i. 1: "In the beginning was the *word*;" ὁ λογος, which we translate *the word*, also means *reason*.

49. As Satan seduced one-third of the angels, so God only sends another third against him, reserving the remaining third probably for duty about the sovereign throne. See v. 655.—*(Gr.)*

51—53. This passage has been pronounced by some learned commentators as the most indefensible in the whole poem. The commission of driving the rebels out of heaven is given, say they, on the authority of Scripture, (Rev. xii.) to Michael; and yet Messiah is made to execute it. In my judgment the passage is quite defensible. Milton assimilates, for our better comprehension, things in heaven to things on earth, and here represents God, like an earthly monarch, authorizing the commander of his armies to drive the enemy out of his dominions, furnishing him with all the means apparently necessary for the purpose. (God, be it remembered, though all-prescient, does not, through the poem, use his foreknowledge for the prevention of events. He lays down *general* laws, allowing particular events to take their course.) The general proceeds to battle, which lasts two days with various success. The Monarch allowed all this advisedly: at last, wishing to prevent the universal havoc that would ensue from this protracted warfare, and wishing to give his Son a signal triumph over those who rebelled against his authority (see 670, &c.), furnishes him with adequate power, and commands him to go and decide the conflict. The Almighty, as furnishing Michael with only half his forces, or a number equal to Satan's, wished to show Satan that these were enough to defeat his aim; and his words to Michael are to be taken in the ordinary way of giving a commander ample orders, or permission, and expressing a confidence in the faithful discharge of his duty. As Milton's hero is Christ, he is justified in using that vaguely-worded passage in Scripture, which does not contain an indispensable article of faith, to give him additional glory, *i. e.* the glory of defeating Satan in heaven, as he did afterwards

on earth. The passage is this: "There was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven." This passage states merely that Satan did not prevail against Michael. Milton shows that he did not (655, &c.) The passage does not state by whom he was driven out of heaven; Milton was therefore justified in supplying the omission and attributing this deed to his hero.

54, 55. "Which." In the old English authors *which* is as often applied to a person as *who*.—"Chaos," a place of confusion, or even, strictly speaking, hell. See note on i. 1002.—*(P., N.)*

56—58. In this description the poet manifestly alludes to that of God descending upon Mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 16, &c. Newton says "reluctant" here means, slow and unwilling to break forth. This is not correct: it is used in the classical sense to signify the same as *reluctans*, violently struggling against, working to break through the smoke and gloom; *reluctans* signifying more than *luctans*.—*(D.)* I think Dunster right. See Senec. in Hercul. æt. 1728; Virg. Georg. iv. 300; Ovid, 2 Am. El. ix. 12. I have accordingly expunged, after "wreaths," the comma which is in all the editions, for "flames" is not in apposition to "wreaths," but governed by "roll."

60. "'Gan blow." Began to blow. The omission of the sign of the infinitive mood is an ancient poetical license, and is frequent in Chaucer. So Par. Reg. iv. 410: "And either tropic now *gan thunder*." So Fletcher, Purp. Isl. ix. 38:

"His glittering arms, drest all with fierie hearts,
Seemed burn in chaste desire."—*(T.)*

This mode of construction is sometimes in familiar use, as, *I saw, I knew* a man *do* so and so.

62. "Quadrate," square.

64. See i. 561; Il. iii. 8.

68. See Tasso, Gier. Liber. i. 75; Fairy Queen, IV. vii. 22.—*(T).*

71—73. Homer (Il. v. 778) compares the smooth gliding motion of two goddesses through the air to the flight of doves:—

Αι δε βατην τρηρωσι πελειασιν ιθμαθ' ὁμοιαι.

Homer has used the simile of a flight of certain fowls twice in the Iliad, to express the number and the motions, the order and the clamours of an army, Il. ii. 459; iii. 2; as Virgil has done the same number of times in his Æneid, vii. 699; x. 264. But this simile exceeds any of those; first, as it rises so naturally out of the subject, and seems a comparison so familiar to Adam; secondly, the "total kind" of birds much more properly expresses a prodigious number than any particular species or collection in any particular place; thirdly, and chiefly, the angels were marching through the air, and not on the ground.—*(Essay on Milton.)*

78. "This terrene." This earth's surface. The adjective classically put for the substantive. There are some instances of *terrenus* being used substantively: Livy, xxiii. 19: "Cum hostes obarassent quidquid herbidi *terreni* extra murum erat." Columella ii. 2: "Genera *terreni* tria, campestre, collinum, montanum."

79—82. At a great distance to the north appeared a fiery region, at first seen indistinctly; but on a nearer view, on examination, as they came nearer, appeared the banded powers of Satan.—*(N.)* The ellipsis of the preposition in Milton has been often noticed before.—"Bristled." See note on ii. 513.

84. "With boastful *argument* portrayed." *Argumentum*, in Latin, sometimes means a curious device, or any thing curiously figured. So Virgil, Æn. vii. 789:—

"At levem clypeum sublatis cornibus Io
Auro insignibat, jam sætis obsita, jam bos,
Argumentum ingens."

Cicero in Verrem: "Ex ebore diligentissime perfecta *argumenta* erant in valvis."—"Shields various." "Various" is used in the primary sense of the Latin *varius*, to express *different colours* and figures. This is the sense of ποικιλος; so ποικιλα τευχεα, Hom.

91. Read a colon after "way."—"Though" does not refer to the last line, but to the lines preceding it. Their thoughts proved foolish (the original meaning of "fond") and empty between the commencement and the conclusion of the enterprise, *in medio*.

93. "Wont." The verb was used by the old English poets sometimes as it is here; in modern style it would be *were* wont.—"Hosting," military mustering, from *host*. See Johns. and Rich. Dict.

101. "Idol." Ειδωλον, literally an *image* or *resemblance*; but, in reference to pagan idolatry, the word undoubtedly means here a false representation or counterfeit image of the Almighty; and is well

selected to express the present character of Satan.—*(Th.)*

104. So Homer, Il. iii. 15 :—

— σχεδον ησαν επ' αλληλοισιν ιοντες.

See Gier. Liber. xx. 31.

107. "The cloudy van." At first sight the idea conveyed by the word "cloudy" appears to contradict what was stated before (80, 82, 102) of the "splendour" of their appearance. But in fact there is no contradiction. That "splendour" was caused by the nature of the combatants themselves, who were spirits of fire, and by their burnished arms; and the cloudiness here is caused by the denseness of the moving masses, that threw, as it were, a shade about them. So Par. Reg. iii. 32, 36 :—

"The field, all iron, cast a gleaming brown,
Nor wanted clouds of foot."

There is a passage in Homer (Il. iv. 274) which Milton, I think, must have recollected, and which illustrates this view :—

Τω δε κορυσσεσθην, αμα δε κνεφος ειπετο πεζων
Δηιον εις πολεμον, πυκιναι κινυντο φαλαγγες,
Κυανεαι, σακεσιν τε και εγχεσι πεφρικυιαι.

108. See note on i. 276.

111. Æn. ii. 467 :—

"Non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Chorœbus."—*(N.)*

113. Thus Homer represents Hector, before his encounter with Achilles, Il. xxii. 98, communing with his own courageous soul :—

Οχθησας δ' αρα ειπε προς ον μεγαλητορα θυμον.

Such soliloquies at the beginning, and even in the midst of battles, are often used by the ancient poets to describe the workings of the mind; they fix the reader's attention, make the action more solemn, and give variety. See N.

115. "Realty" here means loyalty; *reale*. Italian, signifying *loyal*.—*(P.)*

118. "Boldest." This word is to be here taken in an ill sense, to signify an impudent, presumptuous display of courage. See Johnson's and Richardson's Dictionaries.

127. So Menelaus, when he espies his great enemy Paris stalking in front of the armed lines, steps forth to meet him. Il. iii. 21 :—

Τον δ' ως ουν ενοησεν αρηϊφιλος Μενελαος
Ερχομενον προπαροιθεν ομιλου, μακρα βιβωντα.
(Stil.)

135. "Fool." An ejaculation used on a similar occasion in Homer, Il. ii. 38 : —

Νηπιος! ουδε τα γδη ά ρα Ζευς μηδετο εργα.

See Tasso, c. iv. st. 2.—*(N.)*

136. Read a semicolon after "arms."

137. See Matt. xxvi. 53.—*(N.)*

147. "Sect." The commentators imagine that Milton here intended a sneer at the loyalists of his time, who branded all the dissenters, of whom he was one, and who were the fewer in number, with the name of *sectaries*. I do not think he had any such *petty* design: but that he uses "sect" here (as he often uses words) in the signification of the Latin *secta*, which is *opinion*; and hence means a party, as "Cæsaris *secta*." See Facciolati.

150. "Ill for thee." Unluckily for thyself thou returnest.

160. "To win from me some plume." The meaning of this phrase is obvious—to gain some memorial of victory. But the origin of it I cannot trace. Perhaps it refers to a custom in Hungary, where a plume in the bonnet, the distinguishing mark of the nobles, was only to be worn by him who slew, or at least defeated, his enemy; each additional victory giving a claim to wear an additional feather: hence our phrase, "It is a feather in his cap."

161. "Success." See note on ii. 9. That thy ill success may point out destruction to the rest of thy fellows.

167. "Minist'ring spirits." This is spoken in derision; spirits who are servants. Compare this passage with that of Virgil, Æn. ix. 615 :—

"Desidiæ cordi; juvat indulgere choreis . . .
O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite per alta,
Dindyma, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum, . . .
—— sinite arma viris, et cedite ferro."—*(N.)*

Read a comma after "serve" before.

172. Somewhat like Il. xix. 107 :—

Ψευστησεις, ουδ' αυτε τελος μυθω επιθησεις.
(Th.)

181. So Hor. ii. Sat. vii. 81 :—

"Tu mihi qui imperitas aliis servis miser . . .
Quisnam igitur liber? sapiens; sibi qui imperiosus."

See Aristotle's Politics, b. i. c. 3 and 4.—*(N.)*

183. This is said by way of anticipation, or prolepsis

187. So Ascanius, in Virgil, retorts his adversary's reproach, Æn. ix. 635, alluding to 599 :—

"*Bis capti Phryges* hæc Rutulis responsa remittunt"—*(N.)*

189. "Saying" is here a monosyllable. He made the stroke while in the act of speaking—*(N.)*

190. "Which hung not." "Hung" here is used, as *pendere* sometimes is, to signify remaining stationary overhead, as "aves pendent, nubila pendent."

193. "Ruin." In the primary sense of *ruina*, a swift and violent descent accompanied with injury.

194, 195. Compare Homer, Il. v. 308:

——αυταρ ὁγ' ἠρως
Εστη γνυξ εριπων, και ερεισατο χειρι παχειῃ
Γαιῃ——.

Hesiod (Scut. Herc. 421,) compares Cygnus to an oak, or towering cliff, falling when struck by a thunderbolt. But Spenser's description of the fall of the old dragon, Fairy Queen, I. xi. 54, is more to the point, though much inferior:—

"So down he fell, as an huge rocky clift,
Whose false foundation waves have washed away,
With dreadful poise is from the mainland rift."—(*St., Th.*)

203. "The vast of heaven." This is an elegant Latinism, similar to "opaca locorum, strata viarum," (Virg. Æn. ii. and l.) Shakspeare uses the words, "vast of night," Tempest, act i. sc. 2.

209—211. What daring figures are here! Every thing is animated. The very chariot-wheels are *mad* and *raging*; and how admirably do these rough verses *bray the horrible discord* they would describe! "Bray" was applied to any loud harsh noise. Fairy Queen, I. viii. 11:—

"He loudly *bray'd* with beastly yelling sound."

Shakspeare, Hamlet, act i.:—

"The kettle drum and trumpet thus *bray* out
The triumph of his pledge."—(*N., Johns.*)

212—214. Bentley thinks that Milton was hurried away by poetic fury in this sublime passage to be regardless of propriety and syntax, as it is incorrect to say, "*the hiss* flew and vaulted," and proposes to read "*with* dismal hiss *the* fiery darts," &c. But Pearce observes, that there is a peculiar force sometimes in ascribing, as here, that to a circumstance of a thing, which more properly belongs to the thing itself; that to the "hiss," which belongs to the "darts." "Hiss of darts" is a poetic way of speaking for *hissing darts*. So ii. 654: "A *cry* of hell hounds never ceasing *barked*," is the same as *crying hell-hounds* never ceasing *barked*. So vii. 66: "As one whose *drought* still *eyes* the stream," for "one *who droughty eyes*." So Virgil, Æn. iv. 132:—

—"ruunt equites et odora canum vis,"

where what is proper to the *dogs* is said of their *scent*. Upton, in his Critical Observations on Shakspeare, says, the substantive is sometimes to be classically construed as an adjective, when governing a genitive case; as Aristophanes, in Plut. 268: Ω χρυσον αγγειλας επων, "O thou who tellest me *a gold of words*," for *golden words*. So Sydney's Arcadia, p. 2, "opening *the cherry of her lips*," for *her cherry lips*. See T.

223—227. The syntax of this obscure sentence, which the commentators have not noticed, I take to be, "Of how much greater power (than an individual angel, however mighty) to raise, &c. *was* army against army numberless (of such angels) warring: *and they would have destroyed it*, had not, &c."; such an ellipsis is necessary to explain "had not the eternal King overruled;" and is warranted by 670, 671. Milton, in imitation of the ancient classics, occasionally uses such an ellipsis.

232. Each single warrior, though led in fight, was as expert as a commander-in-chief. So the angels are celebrated, first for their numbers, then for their strength, and lastly for their expertness in war.—(*N.*) But what strikes me as the main difficulty, the application of "though" before, I do not find noticed. Does it mean that God limited their might, though so numerous, and individually powerful and experienced; or that, though so numerous, yet each individual was as powerful as a whole legion, and appeared as experienced as a leader?

236. "The ridges of grim war." A metaphor taken from a ploughed field; the rows of men answer to the "*ridges*," which here mean the ranks and the files; the ranks are the rows from flank to flank, or from left to right; the files are from front to rear.—(*R.*) Homer often uses the words πολεμοιο γεφυρας, the bridges of the war, or battle, which are applied to the intervals between the lines.—"No thought of flight." So Il. xxiv. 216:—

— ουτε φοβου μεμνημενον ουτ' αλεωρης.

239. "Moment." In the Latin sense of *momentum*, that which gives a preponderance to one scale. So x. 45. The thought, which is afterwards more fully developed in the words, "in even scale the battle hung," is exemplified by a parallel passage in Homer, Il. xii. 433:—

Αλλ' εχον ὡστε ταλαντα γυνη . . . .
Ὡς μεν των επι ισα μαχη τετατο πτολεμοιο τε.
(*N.*)

242. Read a comma after "various;" for the syntax is, the war was sometimes a standing fight on the ground, and then again tormented all the air. In order to comprehend the full force of the word

"tormented" here, we must, I think, look to the *root* of the word, which is *tormentum*, an engine used in ancient warfare for the projection of destructive missiles.

245. Ἦν δ' ἄγχι πάλλοντος. Eurip. Supplic. 706.—(*T.*)

247. Though Abdiel foiled him before (190), yet Milton seems to think that Satan would have eventually proved an overmatch for him, had not the combat been broken off by the general engagement.—(*N.*)

250. See Samson Agon. 138.—(*T.*)

251. "Two-handed sway." In allusion to the two-handed sword used in the Gothic times.—(*N.*)

255. Tasso (vii. 82) mentions an adamantine shield; but Milton says, "*tenfold* adamant."—(*N.*)

266. Read a comma after "adherents."

275. So in Tasso, ix. 64, Michael rebukes the infernal spirits who fought against the Christians.—(*N.*)

282. "Satan" properly means *adversary*. Il. xx. 200:—

Πηλεΐδη μη δη μ' επεεσσι γε, νηπυτιον ως,
Ειρεο δειδεχεσθαι.—(*N.*)

285. Observe the peculiarity of construction here; the *substantive* "flight" is connected by the *conjunction* "or" with the *infinitive* "fall," both depending on "turned." There are similar instances in Milton, in imitation of the classics. Expunge the comma after "me," 286.

298. *i. e.* Can relate *that fight*, or to what conspicuous things on earth which may lift, &c. can liken it.—(*N.*)

306. So Shakspeare, Hen. V.:—

"For now sits Expectation in the air."—(*T.*)

313. The conjunction copulative is here omitted before "two planets," as is not unusual in rapid and impassioned descriptions. Some commentators think that the grandeur of this simile is tarnished by the introduction of the notion of the malignancy of the planets in a particular aspect. But I rather think that it is appropriately introduced to express the determined rancour of the combatants' hostility. The notion was an ancient one, and made use of in poetry. Todd quotes Beaumont and Fletcher, Span. Curate, act i. sc. 1:—

"Now they begin to burn like *opposed meteors*."

316—319. The meaning and prosaic construction of this difficult passage which the commentators have overlooked, is, I think, this:—"They both together, each with an arm next in power to the Almighty one, lifted up and imminent, (like the Latin *imminens*, hanging overhead ready to fall,) aimed one stroke which might determine (*i. e.* bring the matter to a *terminus* or end) and need not repeat (*i. e.* renew or try it again) as not of power at once (*i. e.* as if there was not sufficient power in it at once to decide the combat.)" If the stroke had not such sufficient power at once, they should repeat it. But they intended such a blow as had this power to end the matter at once, at the first touch, and required no repetition. Latinisms run through the whole sentence; "determine" and "repeat" are to be taken here as neuter verbs; *repetere* in Suetonius is applied to the repetition of a blow. Suet. in Caligul. c. 58: "Cæteri vulneribus triginta confecerunt (scil. Caligulam), nam signum erat omnium, *Repete*." In Celsus it is the same as *redire*, b. iv. c. 14: "Cum morbi *repetunt*."

320—330. Milton, notwithstanding the vastness of his genius, has drawn to his aid all the helps he could find in the most approved authors. Homer and Virgil give their heroes swords of divine temper; and in 2 Maccabees xv. the Jewish hero receives a sword from Jeremiah the prophet, as the gift of God. Jeremiah also mentions the armoury of God, i. 25. But this sword of Michael seems to be copied from Arthegal's in Spenser's Fairy Queen, V. i. 10. There is a beautiful passage in the Iliad, iii. 363, where the sword of Menelaus in his combat with Paris breaks in pieces; and the line is so contrived that, as Eustathius observes, we not only see the action as it were, but fancy we hear the sound of the breaking:—

Τριχθα τε και τετραχθα διατρυφεν εκπεσε χειρος.

As Virgil in his account of the combat between Æneas and Turnus could not equal this kind of beauty, he has, with great judgment, substituted another, by artfully making breaks in the beginning of the verse, to express the breaking short of the sword of Turnus, when it struck against armour tempered by a god:—

"Arrectæque amborum acies; at perfidus ensis
Frangitur; in medioque ardentem deserit ictu.
* * * * *
—postquam arma dei ad Vulcania ventum est,
Mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futilis, ictu
Dissiluit; fulva resplendent fragmina arena."

Satan's sword is not broken in fragments like those of Menelaus and Paris, but quite and clean in two; and the dividing

of the sword in two is very well expressed by half a verse. Milton carries on beauties of the same kind to the description of the wound, and the verses seem almost painful in describing Satan's pain. "Shared," divided; "griding," cutting; both used by Spenser in this sense.—"Discontinuous," separating the continuity of parts.—*(Ad., N., T.)*

332. Bentley objects to "nectarous," because nectar was the *drink* of the gods; and proposes *ichorous*. Pearce replies, that this stream was not of nectarous humour only, but of nectarous humour *sanguine*, i. e. *ichor*; besides, *ichorous* would be a wrong substitute; for, from its derivation, ιχωρ, the middle syllable of it should be long. Homer, v. 339, where Diomede wounds Venus, represents a pure thin kind of liquid, not blood, called *ichor*, which was not produced from earthly food, issuing from the wound. And though the pain was great, the wound soon closed. Il. v. 339:—

——ῥεε δ' αμβροτον αἱμα θεοιο,
Ιχωρ, οἱος περ τε ῥεει μακαρεσσι θεοισιν·
Ου γαρ σιτου εδουσ', ου πινουσ' αιθοπα οινον,
Τουνεκ' αναιμονες εἱσι, και αθανατοι καλεονται.

334. The following passage from Spenser, Fairy Queen, I. v. 9, is quoted by Church and Callender:—

"The cruel steele so greedily doth bite
In tender flesh, that streames of blood down flow,
With which the armes that erst so bright did show
Into a pure vermillion now are dyde."

335. Thus the leaders of the Trojans rescue their chief, Hector, when struck down by Ajax; and convey him to his chariot which stood waiting for him beyond the range of the battle, Il. xiv. 428:—

——τον δ' αρ' ἑταιροι
Χερσιν αειραντες φερον εκ πονου, οφρ' ικεθ' ἱππουν
Ωκεας, οἱ οἱ οπισθε μαχης ηδε πτολεμοιο
Εστασαν, ἡνιοχον τε και αρματα ποικιλ' εχοντες.
(H.)

—"Was run by angels," *i. e.* angels ran. This is a pure Latinism, the neuter verb being used impersonally passive.

348. The same comparison is in Shakspeare, Macbeth, act v.—

"As easy may'st thou the intrenchant air
With thy keen sword impress, as make me bleed."—*(N.)*

350. This is expressed very much like Pliny's account of God, Nat. Hist. b. i. c. 7.—*(N.)*

355. See note on v. 371.

359. See 2 Kings xix. 22.—*(Gil.)*

362. Addison thinks Milton had his eye on Mars when wounded, Il. v. 860, raising a yell loud as ten thousand men in battle, and retiring from the field. Thyer quotes Fairy Queen, I. xi. 20:—

"The piercing steele then wrought a wound full wide
That *with the uncouth paine* the monster *loudly cry'd*."

363. As Adam did not know Raphael's name, therefore he speaks of himself historically in the third person.—*(B.)*

365. "Adramelech." "And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech," 2 Kings xvii.: *i. e.* when they were transplanted to Samaria by Shalmaneser.—*(H.)* "Asmadai," Asmodeus. See note on iv. 168.

368. "Plate" is the broad solid armour; "mail" is that composed of small pieces laid one over another like scales of fish or the feathers of fowl. See v. 284.—*(R.)*

371. "The violence of Ramiel." So Æn. xi. 376: "violentia Turni," the violent Turnus.—*(Up.)*

386. "The battle swerved." So Hesiod, Theog. 711: εκλινθη μαχη.—*(Th.)*

391. "What stood" must be considered in opposition to what "lay overturned" in the preceding line; and then there is no impropriety in the words being the subject to "recoiled" and "fled."—*(N.)*

399. "Cubic." Though, strictly, to have been cubic, it must have been as high as it was broad; yet by poetic license it here means *four-square* only, having that property of a cube to be equal in length on all sides.—*(P.)*

407. Hor. i. Sat. v. 9:—

——"Jam nox *inducere* terris
Umbras.....parabat." *(Th.)*

410. "Foughten field." Shakspeare, Hen. V.:—

"As in this glorious and well *foughten field*."
(T.)

413. "Cherubic waving fires," *i. e.* Cherubim like fires waving; these were the watches. The Cherubim were remarkable for their love and fidelity; hence, they are properly made here the sentinels.

415. So Agamemnon (Il. ix.) after his defeat summons a council by night.—*(N.)*

417. This speech is much admired. While it artfully flatters the pride of his followers, and holds out to them hopes of future success, it eminently marks his own

unbounded ambition and undaunted resolution, even in the midst of adversities.

432. So Prometheus, (Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 932,) comforts himself against Jupiter:—

Τὸ δ' οὐ φοβεῖσθαι, μ' ὄντιν' οὐ φοβεῖται.—(Th.)

Read a comma after "contemned."

440. "Worse," *to worse*, a very unusual verb.

442. "None," no odds being, (case absol.)

447. "Nisroch," a god of the Ninevites, in whose temple Sennacherib was assassinated by his two sons, 2 Kings xix. His speaking afterwards of pain as the greatest of evils, the doctrine of Hieronymus and others, was suitable to the deity of the effeminate Assyrians.—(*N.*)

455. "Against unpained, impassive." Against those who feel no pain, and cannot suffer from external causes.

468. *i.e.* Deserves as great a debt as we would owe for our entire deliverance.

472. "Which" is the nominative to "surveys," 476; but as it is so many lines before the verb, he throws in another nominative expressing the same thing, "whose eye."—(*N.*) I rather think "which" is the nominative to *is* understood. Which of us is there who beholds, and whose eye so superficially surveys? &c. I have noticed already the frequent suppression of the substantive verb in Milton, in imitation of the ancient classic poets.

479. "Spume," froth, foam. He uses "foam," 512.

482. "These" refers to "materials," as does "which," 484. Ariosto, (Orl. Fur. ix. 28,) and Spenser, (Fairy Queen, I. vii. 13,) somewhat in the same way describe cannon, and attribute the invention to the devil.—"The deep," though generally used for *hell*, is here only used in opposition to "surface," 472, and is the same as "deep under ground," 478. —(*N.*)

514. "Concocted and adusted," *i.e.* purified and made quite dry by heat, (*adustus.*) By mistake "*adjusted*" has been printed in the text of this edition for "*adusted*;" and a comma has been placed after "part," 516.

517. The stone may have been mentioned here as what they used for "balls;" or perhaps to express more distinctly that the metal of which the "engines" and "balls" were made, was enclosed in, and mixed with a stony substance in the mine.—(*P.*)

521. "Conscious night." Ovid. Met. xv.:—

"Quorum nox conscia sola est."—(*H.*)

526. Virg. Æn. v. 113:—

"Et tabulæ consumunt medio cursu sequare ludos." (*N.*)

527. "Panoply," (πανοπλία,) *complete armour*, covering the body from head to foot.

528. "Dawning hills." A beautifully figurative expression, as the dawn first appears from above the hills, and they seem to bring the rising day. See viii. 520.—(*N.*)

533. Because they had a large train of artillery to draw, which they were anxious to conceal; hence "*slow* but *firm*."—(*N.*)

537. So Sil. Ital. Punic. Bell. v. 98:—

"Arma, viri, capite arma, viri; dux instat uterque
Ambobus velox virtus, &c."—(*Bo.*)

539. "A cloud he comes." This metaphor is used in many languages to express a great multitude. Heb. xii. 1: "a cloud of witnesses." Hom. Il. iv. 274: νεφος πεζων. Virg. Æn. viii. 793: "nimbus peditum."—(*N.*)

541. "Sad," (*tristis,*) grave, sullen, resolute.

542. Thus the leader in the Iliad, ii. 382, directs his warriors in the same way:—

Εσ μεν τις δορυ θηξασθω, εν δ' ασπιδα θεσθω,
Εσ δε τις ιπποισι δεινον δοτω ωκυποδεσσι,
Εσ δε τις αρματος αμφι ιδων, πολεμοιο μεδεσθω·
Ως κε παντημεριοι στυγερφ κρινωμεθ' Αρηι,
Ου γαρ παυσωλη γε μετεσσεται, ουδ' ηβαιον
Εσ μη νυξ ελθουσα διακρινει μενος ανδρων.

"Adamantine coat." Hor. i. Od. vi —

——"Martem tunica tectum adamantina."

548. "Impediment." The Latin *impedimentum*, baggage, in reference to the enemies' artillery.—(*N.*)

553. "Training," drawing *in train*, from the term *train* of artillery.—(*N.*) "Impaled," encircled.

568. Though this scoffing has been censured as below the dignity of the subject, yet Homer has instances of it. In the 16th book of the Iliad, when Meriones, a Cretan, had nimbly stepped aside to evade the spear of Æneas, Æneas jokes on his dancing powers, the Cretans being famous dancers. So when Patroclus strikes down from the chariot Hector's charioteer, he scoffs at his exhibition as a diver. Here these insulting malignant sneers are quite suited to the character of the devils.—(*N., Gil.*)

576. "Mould." Substance, "stone." See note on 517.

580. Bentley reads *held* here for "stood," to prevent the awkward repetition of "stood."

584. Compare Orl. Furios. ix. 75.—(*T.*)

586. The lexicographers give only two meanings for *embowel*;—to eviscerate or gut; and, to bury, to enclose or sink one thing in another. Johnson quotes this passage as an example of the first meaning. Pearce supposes the construction to be, "whose roar tore the air embowelled (filled) with outrageous noise and all her entrails." Newton says the most natural construction is, "whose roar embowelled (*or filled*) the air with outrageous noise." But then, he admits that it may be objected, that this is as much as to say, that the roar *filled* the air with roar. He says then that the property of a thing is put here for the thing itself, the roar of the cannon for the cannon themselves, as, ii. 654, "a cry of hell-hounds," is put for the hell-hounds themselves; and the *roar* of cannon may as properly be said to embowel the air with outrageous noise, as a *cry* of hell-hounds to *bark*. But it would seem that both understand "embowelled" to mean *filled*, which it does not. I think the adjunct "outrageous," as expressive of extreme violence, prevents the tautology complained of; and that "embowelled" is to be understood here as Johnson understands it—"the roar of the cannon embowelled (gutted, emptied) the air with its *outrageous* noise, and tore all her entrails." Thus, so far from tautology, there is a sort of climax.

599. "Serried." Compact, as if locked together. See i. 548.

625. "Understand" is here used equivocally, by way of pun on the original meaning of the word. So Shakspeare, Two Gent. of Verona, act ii. sc. 5:—

"My staff me *understands*."—(*Johns.*)

635. Æn. i. 150:—

"Furor arma ministrat."

642. So Ezekiel i. 14.—(*D.*)

646. See Hesiod, Theog. 673.—(*T.*)

656. "Their armour helped their harm." Fairy Queen, I. ii. 27.

"That erst him goodly *arm'd*, now most of all him *harm'd*."—(*N.*)

658. The irregular and painfully laborious motion of this verse, which contains twelve syllables, is well designed to express the sense.

661. Here, and all through the book, Milton inculcates a great moral, by shewing that the pain and weakness of the rebel angels were the consequence of their sinning.—(*Th.*)

666. Statius, Theb. viii. 412:—

"Exclusere diem telis, stant ferrea cœlo
Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus sufficit æther."

But how poor is the idea of a shade of arrows compared to a shade of hurled mountains!—(*N.*)

669. So Jupiter interposes in the Iliad, viii. 130, to prevent ruinous consequences.

Ενθα κε λοιγος ην, και αμηχανα εργα γενοντο...
Ει μη αρ' οξυ νοησε πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε.
(*N.*)

674. "Advised," advisedly. The participle is frequently in the classics used adverbially.—(*R.*)

679. "Assessor." Christ is so called by some of the old fathers, Θεου παρεδρος. —(*N.*)

681. *i. e.* In whose face *what is* invisible (viz. what I am by deity) is beheld visibly; Messiah being "the image of the *invisible God*," Coloss. i. 15.—"Invisible," a neuter adject. for a substantive.—(*P., N.*) See iii. 385.

691. This means that the *manner* in which sin was wrought was insensible or imperceptible, not the *effects* of it—(*N.*)

693. So Hesiod. Theog. 635.—(*St.*)

709. See Psalm xlv. 7.—(*N.*)

711. See note on 833, and iii. 394.

713. See Psalm xlv. 3, 4. How superior is this to the injunction of Achilles to Patroclus! Il. xvi. 64.—(*T.*)

732—4. In allusion to 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28; John xvii. 21, 23; Psalm cxxxix. 21. —(*N.*)

737. "These rebelled." These who have rebelled; these rebellious. This remarkable word is taken in the unusual sense of *rebellatus* (particip. depon.) used by Val. Maxim. b. ix. c. 10, n. 1.

739. 2 Pet. ii. 4; Mark ix. 44.—(*T., H.*)

740, 741. "*Thy* obedience...whom," *i. e.* the obedience *of thee* whom, &c. This mode of expression, in which the relative refers to the substantive or personal pronoun, understood out of the adjective or passive pronoun, Milton occasionally adopts in imitation of the ancient classic writers. So Cic.: "omnes fortunas *meas* (scil. *mei*) laudare, *qui* filium tali ingenio præditum haberem."

746. This description of the Messiah's going out against the rebel angels is a scene of the same sort with Hesiod's Jupiter against the Titans.—(*Th.*) Milton, by continuing the war for three days,

and reserving the victory upon the third to the Messiah alone, alludes to the circumstances of his death and resurrection. —(*Gr.*)

750. This description of the chariot is copied from the vision of Ezekiel i. and x. which the reader must consult.

758. Another reading is "whereon," i. *e.* on which firmament, ("the likeness of the firmament on the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal...and above the firmament was the likeness of a throne," Ezek. i. 22, &c.) and a full stop at "arch."

761. "Urim." Urim and Thummim were something in Aaron's breastplate; what they were, critics are by no means agreed. It is most probable that "Urim," which signifies *light*, and "Thummim," *perfection*, were only names given to signify the clearness and certainty of the Divine answers, (which were obtained by the high priest consulting God, with his breast-plate on,) in contradistinction to the obscure and imperfect answers of the heathen oracles.—(*N.*) I think Milton, by applying the word "Urim" to "panoply," evidently agreed with the opinion of their being precious stones. Josephus, (Antiq. iii. 8,) and other authors, say they were the precious stones of the high priest's breast-plate (on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes) which, by the nature of their lustre, discovered the will of God to him. Epiphanius and Suidas think they were epithets of a diamond of extraordinary splendour on the pectoral (in addition to the twelve stones), from whose shining the high priest drew his inferences. God was consulted by Urim and Thummim only on occasions of public interest to the church or state. The high priest then stood not in the sanctuary, where he could enter only once a year, but in the holy place or temple, before the curtain that parted the sanctum from the sanctuary, with his face towards the ark of the covenant. They were twelve different precious stones, ranged in four rows; each stone set in gold, and having the name of a tribe on it. See Exod. xxviii. and Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible.

762. Victory is thus personified by Shakspeare, Rich. III. act v. sc. 3:—

"Victory sits on our helms"—(*T.*);

and by Juvenal, Sat. viii. 63:—

"Rara jugo victoria sedit."

766. "Bickering." A Welsh word, *bicre*, signifying to skirmish. This thought is taken from Psalm xviii. 8. i. 3.—(*H.*)

767—9. See Jude 14; Psalm lxviii. 17; Rev. vii. 4.—(*N.*)

771. See Psalm xviii. 10.—(*Gr.*)

779. See Rom. xii. 5; Col. i. 18.—"We being many, are one body in Christ ... He is the head of the body."—(*Gr.*)

787. Virg. Æn. ii. 354:—

"Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem."

Quintus Curtius, v. 4: "Ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit, et sæpe desperatio spei causa est."—(*N.*)

788. Virg. Æn. i. 11:—

"Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ."

Read a note of interrogation after "dwell."

791. So Moses said of Pharaoh, Exod. xiv.—(*H.*)

801. So in Exod. xiv. 13, 14.—(*Gil.*)

808. So Rom. xii. 19.—(*N.*)

808, 809. *i. e.* It is decreed that this day's work shall not be performed by many. I think there is a climax intended; "multitude" conveying the idea of more persons than "number" does.

832. "Gloomy as night." Homer, Il. xii. 462, applies these words to Hector when he fiercely dashed through the gate of the Grecian rampart:—

——ὸ δ' αρ' εσθορε φαιδιμος Εκτωρ,
Νυκτι θοῃ αταλαντος ὑπωπια· λαμπε δε χαλκῳ
Σμερδαλεῳ.....πυρι δ' οσσε δεδῃει.—(*N.*)

832, 833. See Job xxvi. 11; Dan. vii. 9. So Hesiod, Theog. 841:—

Ποσσι δ' υπ' αθανατοισι μεγας πελεμιζετ' Ολυμπος,
Ορνυμενου ανακτος, επεστεναχιζε δε γαια.
(*H.*, *T.*)

838. An allusion to Homer, Il. xv. 322:—

——τοισι δε θυμον
Εν στηθεσσιν εθελξε· λαθοντο δε θουριδος αλκης.
(*Stil.*)

842. So Rev. vi. 16. This is the bold painting of Æschylus, Prom. Vinct. 356:—

Εξ ομματων δ' ηστραπτε γοργωπον σελας.—(*T.*)

853. This is superior to Hesiod, who makes Jupiter, on a like occasion, exert all his strength. Theog. 687.—(*N.*)

856. "As a herd of goats or timorous flock." It may seem strange that, after so many sublime images, our author should introduce so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer. In the second book of the Iliad, after a splendid description of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similes, they are

compared, for their number, to "*flies* about a shepherd's cottage when the milk wets the pails." So, after comparing Agamemnon to Jove, to Mars, and to Neptune, he compares him again to a bull. (So he compares Ajax to an ass.) But we may observe, to the advantage of Milton, that this low simile is not applied, as Homer's are, to those whom he meant to honour, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defeat and disgrace. Above all this, there is the greater propriety in the similitude of "goats" particularly, as our Saviour represents the wicked under the same image, just as the good are called *sheep*. Matt. xxv. 33: "And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left."—(*N.*) There are several conjectures as to the application of "timorous flock" here. I think the most natural way is to consider that Milton, by putting the words generally, meant to leave the comparison to the reader's judgment.

859. The Furies of mythology were avenging tormentors. Perhaps Milton had in mind the Orestes of Euripides tormented and pursued by Furies.—(*D.*)

862. Compare Il. xii. 52:—

——— αιτο γαρ δει διασετο ταφρος
Ευρεια. *(Stil.)*

868. "Ruining." Tumbling down with precipitation and ruin. See Gier. Liber. ix. 39.—(*Th.*) So *ruit æther*, 1 Georg. 324. Senec. Hippol. 674.

871. See Hesiod, Theog. 681, 722, &c. —(*T.*)

874. So Isaiah v. 14.—(*N.*)

882. So Rev. xii. 10.—(*St.*)

888. So Rev. iv. 11.—(*N.*)

893. He repeats the same apology for these bold fictions as he made in the beginning, (see v. 575;) and concludes the book with a solemn dignity, befitting the close of such a scene.—(*N.*, *T.*)

900. Observe the remarkable construction: "he," the nominative case, is put in apposition to "Satan," the ablative.

BOOK VII.

Longinus has observed that there may be a loftiness in sentiments, when there is no passion; and has brought instances out of ancient authors to support his opinion. The pathetic, he says, may animate and inflame the sublime, but is not essential to it. Milton has shown himself a master in both these ways of writing. The *seventh* book is an instance of that sublime which is not mixed and worked with passion. The author appears in a kind of composed and sedate majesty; and though the sentiments do not give so great an emotion as those in the former book, they abound with as magnificent ideas. The *sixth* book, like a troubled ocean, represents greatness in confusion; the *seventh* affects the imagination like the ocean in a calm, and fills the mind of the reader without producing in it any thing like tumult or agitation. Among the rules which Longinus lays down for succeeding in the sublime, he proposes an imitation of the most celebrated authors who have been engaged in similar works; and particularly in poetry, one should consider how Homer would have spoken on such an occasion. Thus one great genius often catches the flame from another, without copying servilely after him. Milton, though his own natural strength of genius was capable of furnishing out a most perfect work, has raised and ennobled his conceptions by such an imitation as that recommended by Longinus. In this book, the poet received but very few assistances from heathen writers, who were strangers to the wonders of creation. But as there are many glorious strokes of poetry upon this subject in Holy Writ, he has numberless allusions to them through the whole course of this book. The great critic Longinus, though an heathen, has noticed the sublime manner in which the lawgiver of the Jews has described the creation in the first chapter of Genesis; and there are many other passages in Scripture which rise up to the same majesty where this subject is touched upon. Milton has shown his judgment very remarkably in making use of such of these

as were proper for his poem, and in duly qualifying those high strains of Eastern poetry, which were suited to readers whose imaginations were set to an higher pitch than those of colder climates. The beauties of description in this book lie so thick, that it is impossible to enumerate them in these remarks. The poet has employed on them the whole energy of our tongue. The several great scenes of the creation rise up to view one after another in such a manner, that the reader seems present at this amazing work, and to assist in the choirs of angels who are the spectators of it.—*(Ad.)*

1. "Descend from heaven, Urania." So, Hor. iii. Od. iv. 1:—

"Descende cœlo.....Calliope."

But here the invocation is better applied, as now his subject leads him from heaven to earth; and "Urania" (*ουρανια*, i. e. *heavenly*,) was the muse whose province embraced celestial subjects. Here he invokes the *heavenly muse*, as he did in the beginning of the first book; and as he said there that he "intended to soar above the Aonian Mount," so here he says that he effected what he intended, and soars "above the Olympian hill, above the flight of Pegasian wing," or higher than Bellerophon mounted, or Pegasius soared; *i. e.* that his subject was more sublime than the loftiest flight of any heathen poet.—*(N.)*

6. Tasso, in his invocation, has a similar sentiment, Gier. Liber. i. 2.—*(Th.)* The muses are called by Homer, (Il. ii. 491,) Ολυμπιαδες. Olympus is called *old*, as the Euphrates is, (i. 420,) and Mount Casius, (ii. 593,) *i. e.* famed of old.—*(N.)* Bentley substitutes *Parnassus* for "Olympus;" but Olympus is right, for the meaning is—I call thee, Urania, not from the *ουρανος* (or heaven) of the Greeks, which was Olympus, for thou wast heavenly born even before Olympus appeared.—*(P.)*

10. See Prov. viii. 24, &c. where the same is said of Wisdom.—*(N.)*

14—16. This is said, Newton thinks, in reference to the difficulty of breathing on the top of very high mountains, in consequence of the rarefaction of the air there. Urania gently tempered or mollified the air, that he could breathe it in the empyreum, or highest heaven. Dunster explains the passage as expressive of his confidence of success. Under the guidance of Urania he ascended the empyreum safely, and there breathed the pure air which she had so highly tempered; and now he requests of her to convey him to his native element with equal safety, that he may with equal success describe the creation of this world and of man.

20. The story of Bellerophon is told in the Iliad, vi. 190. Being a man of extraordinary bravery and beauty, he excited the love of Antæa the wife of Prætus, king of the Argives, at whose court he was a guest. Like Joseph in holy writ, he rejected her corrupt solicitations. She, through revenge, then falsely accused him of an attempt on her honour to her husband; who, restrained by the laws of hospitality from putting him to death, sent him on a feigned embassy to his father-in-law Jobates, king of Lycia, with a letter detailing his supposed offence, and requesting of him to contrive his death. Hence the phrase, "carrying Bellerophon's letters," *i. e.* a message fatal to oneself. Jobates, having hospitably entertained him nine days as the ambassador of a friendly sovereign before he opened the letter, on seeing its contents, felt also restrained from putting him to death, but sent him on a number of most perilous enterprises. Bellerophon was victorious in all these; which so pleased the king that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and named him his successor. In his old age, however, he became melancholy mad, and "wandered the Aleian field alone, wasting away his spirit, avoiding the path of men:"—

Αλλ' ότε δη κακεινος απηχθετο πασι θεοισιν
Ητοι ὁ καππεδιον τ' Αλητον οίος αλατο
'Ον θυμον κατεδων, πατον ανθρωπων αλεεινων.

It is added by others, that endeavouring to mount up to heaven on the winged horse Pegasus (the steed of the Muses), he fell on the Aleian plain, where he wandered till he died. Newton remarks, "The plain truth of this story seems to be, that in his old age he grew mad with his poetry, which Milton begs may never be his own case." I rather think the explanation of the fable is, that Bellerophon's poetic flight was *unsuccessful*, and that this caused his melancholy; and that Milton here prays that he may not be so *unsuccessful*. It is questionable whether Aleian is derived from *α, not*, and λειον, *crop*, meaning, the barren plain; or from *αλαομαι*, to *wander*, meaning, the plain of wandering. Each opinion is supported by high authority. The latter I think preferable.

21. "Half remains unsung," *i. e.* half

of the episode, the part relating to the creation of the world and of man; not half of the poem, as some imagine, for these words were here introduced in the first edition, in which there were only *ten* books.—" Narrower bound," bound or confined more narrowly.—*(R., N.)*

26, &c. See the Life of Milton. All the critics agree in praising the beauty of the repetition and turn of words here; and in saying that the passage has reference to his own persecution, and the profligacy of the court of Charles II. The poetic allusion here is to Orpheus the son of Calliope, torn to pieces by the Bacchanals on Mount Rhodope in Thrace, because he attempted to check their licentiousness. Orpheus by his melody was said to be able to move trees and stones (see Hor. i. Od. xii.); hence the words, " where rocks and woods had ears to rapture." Instances of such repetitions are to be met with in some of the best poets. Homer, Il. xx. 371:—

Τον δ' εγω αιτιος ειμι, και ει πυρι χειρας εοικεν,
Ει πυρι χειρας εοικε, μενος δ' αιθωνι σιδηρω.

Il. xxii. 127:—

Τω αοριζεμενοι, ατε παρθενος ηιθεος τε,
Παρθενος ηιθεον τε αοριζετον αλληλοισιν

Virgil, Æn. vii. 586:—

" Ille velut pelagi rupes immota resistit,
Ut pelagi rupes, magno venienti fragore."

See verses 182, 184, 187, of this Book.

31. He had Horace in view, i. Sat. x. 73:—

—— " neque te ut miretur turba, labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus."—*(N.)*

32. In imitation of the heathen divines, who used to utter their verses only to the pure. Thus in Fragm. Orph.:—

Φθεγξομαι οις θεμις εστι, θυρας δ' επιθεσθε βεβηλοις
Πασιν ομως.—*(Cal.)*

So Hor. iii. Od. i.—

" Odi profanum vulgus et arceo."

38. " Fail not thou who thee implores," *i. e.* fail thou not *him* who implores thee. A pure classical idiom; the antecedent of the relative is suppressed frequently in Greek authors; and in Latin sometimes, in imitation of the Greek.

42, 43. " To beware apostasy." The accusative case is here used after the neuter verb " beware," though it is an unusual construction; just as *cavere* in Latin has sometimes an accusative after it; the preposition being understood, strictly speaking, in all such cases. This understood force of the preposition gives such verbs an *active* or *transitive* force.

52. " Muse," musing, meditation.

59. " Repealed," ended, as a law when repealed is ended.—*(P.)*

61. " Led on." This is the subject to " proceeded," 69.—*(N.)*

72. " Divine interpreter." So Mercury, to whom Milton before likened Raphael, is called " interpres divum," by Virgil, Æn. iv. 373.—*(N.)*

79. To observe the will of God, is the end for which we were created.—*(N.)*

83. " Seemed," (*visum est,*) seemed fit.

88. Which yields space to all bodies, and again fills up the deserted space, so as to be subservient to motion.—*(R.)* The air is not only ambient, or surrounding all the earth, but is interfused, or flowing into, and spun out between all bodies.—*(N.)*

94. " Absolved," completed. In the occasional sense of the Latin *absolvo.*—*(R.)*

98, &c. Thyer and others have remarked, that this passage is a proof of Milton's consummate skill in the art of poetry. He need only tell the angel that there was time enough for him to tell the story, which he would be delighted to hear; but in place of this, the poet spins out ten lines of exquisite beauty in making the request. Homer, though far less beautifully, represents Alcinous, Odyss. xi. 373, as inducing Ulysses to relate the story of his travels, by telling him it was yet far from dawn.

Νυξ δ' ηδε μαλα μακρη. αθεσφατος· ουδε πω ωρη
Εϋδειν εν μεγαρῳ, συ δε μοι λεγε θεσκελα εργα,
Και κεν ες ηω διαν ανασχοιμην.

Newton further remarks, that Milton had both scriptural authority, in the sun's standing still at the command of Joshua, and classical precedents for this suspension of the laws of nature. Virgil (Ecl. viii.) representing the charms of the music of Orpheus, says the rivers stopped:—

" Et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus."

Pearce proposes to point the passage thus:—

" Much of his race though steep; suspense in heaven,
Held by the voice, thy potent voice, he hears."

i. e. " held by thy potent voice, he hears suspense in heaven;" he stops and listens attentively; for after it is said, " he is held in suspense in heaven by thy voice," it is low to say " he hears thy voice," as he must hear it before he can be held by it. Newton, Todd, and others, adopt this view.

113. Compare vi. 297, 298, and Homer Il. xii. 176:—

Αργαλεον δε με ταυτα, θεον ως, παντ' αγορευσαι. *(T.)*

116. "To infer." *i. e.* By *inference* to *make* thee happier.—*(N.)*

117. "Shall not be withheld thy hearing." Shall not be withheld from thee to hear. So 83, "concerned our knowing," concerned us to know; an English idiom.

121—123. So Hor. iii. Od. xxix. 29:—

"Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus."—*(Th.)*

—"Inventions." Eccles. vii. 29, reasonings, or fancies. Matt. xxiv. 36: "Of that day" (*i. e.* the day of the dissolution of all earthly things) "no one knoweth, no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father only." God, in 1 Tim. i. 17, is called "the invisible King."—*(N.)*

139. "At least." Thyer and others would prefer to read "at *last*." I think "at *least*," which Milton wrote, contains a peculiar force; and that Milton meant by it to express, that Satan failed at *least* in thinking that *all* were rebellious.—"As dispossessed," after, is the case absolute; and "fraud," after (143), is used as *fraus* sometimes is, for evil, or its punishment. It here extends to the punishment consequent on the deceit, says Richardson.

144. Job vii. 10; Psalm ciii. 16.—*(N.)*

154. "Self-lost." Those who were lost by their own self will.—"In a moment will create." Yet the work is afterwards said to take up six days. Newton thinks, as many learned divines have thought, that though the creation may have been instantaneous, yet its effect was only made visible in six days, in order to suit it to the capacity of the angels; and that so Moses describes it in order to adapt it to the gradual comprehension of man. I think the poet, in 177—179, bears out this opinion.

160. *i. e.* By the translation of these obedient creatures to heaven, earth will be changed to heaven; and heaven, by receiving them, will become their habitation, and be another earth to them. See 1 Pet. iii. 13.—*(D., T.)*

162. "Inhabit lax." Dwell apart, having more room; *habitate laxe*. This phrase has been censured; though Cicero, in his Oration pro Domo, cap. xliv. speaking of a powerful personage, perhaps furnished him with the thought: "*habitare laxe* et magnifice voluit, duasque et magnes et nobiles domos conjungere." I doubt whether the sentiment, too, is so undignified as it has been represented to be. It was a necessary part of the statement. There was a void; and should continue in heaven, by reason of the expulsion of the false angels, till filled up by mankind. Meantime the good angels were to enlarge their residences, and so in some measure fill up the vacant space.

164. "I perform." The propriety of this Græcism, in using the present time for the future, is shown by 176: all future things are present to him. See Col. i. 16.—*(Stil., T.)*

165. Luke i. 35: "The power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." As the Spirit of the Father cooperated in the creation (Gen. i. 2), it is here said to be sent along with the Son.—*(N.)*

168. Thus Pearce explains this passage: The deep is boundless, but the space contained in it is not vacuous and empty, because there is an infinitude, and I fill it. Though I, who am myself uncircumscribed, set bounds to my goodness, and do not exert it everywhere, yet neither necessity nor chance influences my actions. There should be a period after "space," and only a comma after "not" (172), according to this explanation, adopted by some of the best modern commentators.

173. This doctrine has been expressed by the heathen poets. Lucan, Pharsal. v. 91:—

——"deus magnusque potensque
Sive canit fatum, seu quod jubet ipse canendo
Fit fatum."——

See the speech of the Deity in Plato's Timæus. This dialogue appears to have been often consulted by Milton in his account of the creation.—*(B., T.)*

182. The angels are very properly represented as ushering in the creation with a hymn similar to that sung at the birth of Christ, Luke ii. 14. Bentley proposes to read "to *God* Most High," as more opposed to "men" after, and agreeing better with the words of St. Luke.—*(N.)*

192. Milton's prayer to Urania, to guide him safely down to his native element, without experiencing the fatal failure of Bellerophon in his poetic flight, and still to govern his song, is fully granted; for, as Addison and the other critics have remarked, this whole description of the creation, which, according to our conception, is the greatest exertion of Omnipotence, is equal to the majesty

and vastness of the subject. It is executed with the utmost energy and grace of diction of which our language is capable, and with the loftiest and most comprehensive imagination; and while he presses to his aid all the resources that learning and genius could supply, he closely observes in the facts the arrangement, and in his style often the words, of Scripture.

197. "Poured." This word is here expressive of promptness and alacrity in obeying his summons.—*(P.)*

200. This thought, but wonderfully improved, is taken from a passage in Zech. vi. 1:—"Behold there came out four chariots from between two mountains, and the mountains were mountains of brass."—*(Ad.)*

206. Richardson says "sound" here is governed by "moving;" as iii. 37, "thoughts move harmonious numbers." See ii. 881.

215. As Chaos could not be supposed to have centre or pole, he does not apply the words to it, as some critics suppose, but only uses an illustration, to convey the idea to Adam's capacity; as if on earth the sea should mount in mountains to heaven, and mix the centre of the globe with its circumference.—*(R.)* The commentators think that "*in* surging waves" would be more correct here than "*and* surging waves;" but I think the text may be defended. Milton (ii.) called this abyss an illimitable ocean, where all material things were "in their pregnant causes mixed confusedly:" now *all* these may be represented as "up from the bottom turned by furious winds *and* surging waves;" the wind and water being the two most potent agents in tearing up the other materials. Or may not "surging waves" be governed by "viewed" understood? Thus, he viewed the abyss up from the bottom turned by furious winds, and viewed its waves (when so upturned) surging like mountains to assault, &c.?

216. "Silence, ye troubled waves; and thou deep, peace!" The brevity of this command is one of the sublime beauties that Longinus admired in the Mosaic history of the creation. The choice and arrangement of the words and the metre render the line beautifully expressive; the first foot being a trochee, and the last a spondee. The spondaic lines occasionally introduced in Greek and Roman hexameter verse (*i. e.* lines having a spondee in place of a dactyl in the second last foot) were eminently calculated for emphasis, and fixing the attention. There are several beautiful examples in Virgil, Æn. ii. 68:—

"Constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit."

Æn. viii. 679:—

"Cum patribus, populoque, penatibus et magnis Dis."

Upton says, no poet ever equalled this beauty but Shakspeare, Macbeth, act ii.:

"What hath quenched them, hath given me fire.—Hark!—peace!"—*(N.)*

218. "Nor staid." Virg. Geor. iv.:—

"Haud mora; continuo matris præcepta facessit."

The sudden break and pause in the beginning of the line, and the rapid and lofty swell of the remainder and of the two next lines, which must be read with one full volume of voice, is an instance of matchless beauty of versification.

224. "Fervid wheels." "Fervidis rotis," (Hor. Od. i.)

225. From Proverbs viii. 27. So Dionys. Perieg. ad finem:—

Αυτοι γαρ τα πρωτα θεμειλια τορνωσαντο,
Και βαθυν οιμον εδειξαν αμετρητοιο θαλασσης.
(R.)

228. "One foot," *i. e.* of the compass.

233. "Matter unformed and void." "The earth was without form and void," (Gen. i. 2,) *i. e.* it was empty of any thing regularly formed, or of living things.—*(N.)*

235. See note on i. 21.

239—242. The reader must compare iii. 708. What is practically useful in the commentaries of several critics is this:—"Founded then conglobed," laid as a foundation, fixed, (*fundavit*; so Psalm lxxxix. 11,) and then cemented in one globe or body, the different portions of the elements of the same kind that were scattered all through the abyss, uniting the scattered particles of fire, earth, sea, and air.—"The rest;" *i. e.* the particles that did not or could not harmonise, and were unfit for composing the earth, flew off to other places, perhaps to form the planets and fixed stars. Or, "the rest" means "the æthereal quintessence" (iii. 716) which composed the luminous bodies, or those particles of matter which we call *fire* (and whose properties are *light* and *heat*) and which constituted the "light" mentioned immediately after, as preceding the creation of the sun. Lucret. v. 438:—

"Diffugere inde loci partes cœpere, pares
Cum paribus jungi res."

Cicero, de Nat. Deor.: "Ac principio terra universa cernatur, locata in media sede mundi solida et *globosa*, et undique ipsa in *sese* suis nutibus *conglobata*." Ovid. Met. i.:—

——"Circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus
Ponderibus librata suis."

252. Cæsar (Bel. Gal.) says, that the Druids commenced their division of time with the evening.

257. Taken from Job xxxviii. 4, 7. The great round of the universe, which was concave, and without creatures.—*(N.)*

261, &c. The Hebrew word which was rendered in Greek στερεωμα, or *firmament*, properly means an *expanse*; and it is so in the margin of our Bible. St. Augustine on Genesis says, "It is not called *firmament* because it is a *firm*, solid body, but because it is a partition, firm and immovable, between the upper and the nether waters." Some have thought that the upper waters were masses of real water formed by vapours drawn up to the middle region of the air from the earth, and sometimes descending in floods of rain, and that by this is meant "the floodgates of heaven were opened," (Gen. vii. 11.) But Milton agrees with those who called it the "crystalline heaven," which he calls the "crystalline ocean," from its glassy clearness resembling water. So he thinks, as God founded the earth on waters, he established the whole frame of the heavenly bodies in a calm crystalline sea surrounding them, to prevent all disturbance from the neighbourhood of chaos. See Psalm civ. 3; cxlviii. 4; cxxxvi. 6; 2 Pet. iii. 5.—*(N., H.)* Milton artfully embodies both notions of firmament, by calling it an "*expanse*, and *firm* partition;" and I think a close examination of his words will show that he thought the upper waters were waters *in reality*, and *not appearing so* from their clearness: "As the *earth*, *so* he the *world* built on circumfluous *waters*." He quotes the words of Scripture, and is satisfied with their obvious meaning.

274. "Heaven." Milton follows the Hebrew opinion, of there being three heavens; the first, that in which the clouds move and birds fly; the second, the starry heaven; the third, the residence of the angels, and the seat of God's glory. He speaks here of the first, as he mentions the others in other places.—*(N.)*

277. "Embryon immature involv'd." Wrapped up, as an unfinished offspring.

281. "Fermented." Warmed and swelled the earth our great mother which was "satiate" (satiated, or saturated, or impregnated) with "genial" or propagating moisture.

283, 284. So in Gen. i. 9. But Milton enlarges on the passage in Genesis with great poetic force and beauty. The numbers of the following verses seem to rise with the mountains and sink with the waters; he seems to have had his eye on Psalm civ. 6, and following verses.—*(N.)*

299. "Torrent rapture." So "glad precipitance," 291, with rushing delight.—*(N.)*

303—306. As the earth had only just emerged from the waters, it was one great washy ooze, slime and mud; and channels were easily worn into it by the streaming water, till it had become all dry, everywhere, except within the banks of these rivers. The rivers are imagined as persons of great quality, the length of their robes training after them. This part of the description cannot be read otherwise than slowly, and so as to give the mind a picture of the thing described. *(R.)* The ancients feigned rivers to be divinities.—"Perpetual" is here an adjective, used, as elsewhere, to mean continued, unbroken, like the Latin *perpetuus*, as "agmen perpetuum, fossa perpetua, dies perpetuus," &c.; and not used adverbially, as Todd thinks.

307—312 are the words of Genesis i. 10, 11.—*(N.)*

317. See 2 Esdras vi. 44.—*(T.)*

321. "Swelling gourd." Propertius iv. ii. 43:—

"Cæruleus cucumis, *tumido*que cucurbita ventre."

The common reading was *smelling*, which Bentley has well changed into *swelling*, the mistake being a misprint; as *gourds* are a numerous family, *smelling*, though it suits with some kinds of the gourd, does not suit with all the particulars of that tribe, as *swelling* does; and Milton here assigns to each of the other species, the vine, reed, shrub, bush, a general epithet, which suits with *all* of the same species.—*(P.)*—"*Corny* reed." The *horny* reed, from *cornu*, horn, stood upright among the undergrowths of nature, like a grove of spears, or a battalion with its pikes aloft. Corneus (Lat.), of or like horn.—*(H.)* This explanation is adopted by the best modern commentators; but, in my opinion, "corny" here is in reference not to *cornu*, horn, but to *cornus*,

the corneil tree, whose hard pointed branches resembled horn, and were used for spears.

323. "And bush with frizzled hair implicit." "Hair," like *coma*, in Latin, is used for leaves, and branches; and "implicit," (*implicitus*) is entangled.—*(N.)*

325. "Gemmed their blossoms." Put forth their blossoms, from *geminare* (Lat.) to bud forth. Bentley thinks it plain that Milton gave it, "gemmed *with* blossoms," taking "*gemmed*" for a participle, as "*hung*" is. But "*gemmed*" may be a verb, as "*spread*" is. And to gem their blossoms, is an expression of the same poetical cast as "blooming ambrosial fruit," iv. 219.—*(P.)* Johnson quotes this passage as the example of "gem," *v.n.* meaning, "to bud forth," and prints it with a semicolon after "fruit." In this case, "blossoms" must be taken as the nominative to "gemmed."

329, 330. A manifest allusion to Homer, when he describes Mercury surveying with delight the bowers of Calypso, Odyss. v. 73:—

Ενθα κ' επειτα και αθανατος περ επελθων
Θηησαιτο ιδων, και τερφθειη φρεσιν ῇσιν.
(Stil.)

331 to 337, taken from Gen. ii. 4—6.

338. "Recorded." Celebrated. This was done by the "chorus" (275); by "harps" (450). What is done by the voices and instruments is poetically ascribed to the time in which they were employed.—*(R.)*

339 to 353, taken from Gen. i. 14—18.

346. "Great for their use to man." Milton judiciously has added these words to explain the words, "two great lights," for they were not greater than all other planets.—*(N.)* "Altern," (*alternus*,) alternately.

364. So the sun is called by Lucretius the *fountain* of *liquid light*, v. 282:—

"Largus item liquidi fons luminis ætherius sol
Irrigat assidue cœlum candore recenti."

—"Other stars," *i. e.* the planets, as appears by his mentioning the morning star, or planet Venus.—*(N.)*

365. Aristoph. Nub. 271:—

Ειτ' αρα Νειλου προχοαις ὑδατων χρυσειοις αρυσασθε προχουσιν.—*(Stil.)*

368. "Small peculiar." Like the Latin *peculium*, small private property or possession acquired by servants.

372, 373. This passage alludes to Psalm xix. 5: "The sun is a bridegroom coming from his chamber, and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course." Spenser, in a passage of exquisite poetry, alludes to the same text, Fairy Queen, I. v. 2:—

"And Phœbus, fresh as bridegroom to his mate,
Came dauncing forth, shaking his dewie haire."

—"Longitude" here means the sun's course from east to west in a straight line. See iii. 576. *(P., T.)*

374. "The Pleiades" rise about the time of the vernal equinox, and are hence called *Vergiliæ*. By this it would seem that Milton thought the creation was in spring, according to the common opinion, Virg. Geor. ii. 338:

——"ver illud erat; ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
Cum primæ lucem pecudes hausere," &c.
(N.)

382. "Dividual." Divided; like the Latin *dividuus*, which is sometimes used for *divisus*. So he uses the word, xii. 85.

387 to 398, taken from Gen. i. 20—22.

388. "Reptile" here means, creeping things, *i. e.* the creeping things of the *water*, so in Psalm civ. 25: "the great and wide sea, wherein are creeping things innumerable, both small and great beasts." He also mentions "creeping things," in his description of the sixth day's creation (452), *i. e.* creeping things of the *earth*.—*(P., T.)* Addison remarks, that it is surprising how the poet could, within the compass of a space so brief, describe the whole creation with so much minuteness, accuracy, and beauty, as well the formation of the material world and all its parts, as all its productions from the reptile to the whale.

391. "Whales" (κητεα) was a name given by the ancients to all large animals of the deep.—*(Stil.)*

402. "Sculls." Shoals and "sculls," (from the Saxon *sceole*, an assembly) both mean large collections of fish. What is called a *shoal* in one place is called a *skull* in another. Hence it is said by the commentators that "shoals of fish that glide *in* skulls" is an incorrect mode of speaking. I apprehend that Milton meant a distinction (if it were not recognised in his time) between the two words; "shoal" signifying the *whole aggregate* multitude of the migrating fishes, and "sculls," the *separate bodies* or assemblages into which it is divided. This division of the general mass into sections, which take separate courses, is a well-known fact; and they move along in dense bodies, resembling sand banks. The *shoal* divides in the Northern ocean

into three bodies, or *skulls:* one moves along the German ocean, coasting the east of Britain; another through the Irish Sea; and a third skirts the western coast of Ireland. The commentators omit what is more worthy of notice—the syntax of "*shoals.*" Is it—"the seas swarm, and shoals *swarm?*" or "the seas swarm with fry innumerable and *with* shoals?" If the first, is there not here a bold, and rather an unusual exercise of the poetic license, in saying, *seas* and *shoals of fishes swarm?* If the second, what is the difference between *fry innumerable* and *shoals?* As to the first opinion, there are instances in the Classics and in Milton, where one verb refers to two subjects—metaphorically to the one, and strictly to the other. As to the second opinion, the solution lies in the word "*fry,*" the incipient matter, or the first moving bodies, compared with the *shoals*, or *full grown fishes.*

405. "Groves of coral." Coral is a production of the sea, and was commonly ranked among marine plants. Kercher supposed that coral forests grew at the bottom of the sea. This is enough to justify Milton. The ancients believed that the plants were quite soft while under water, but got hard on exposure to the air. See Ov. Met. iv. 750. But it is now known that the tops of the branches only are a little soft, which become petrified when exposed to the air.—*(N.)* It properly is composed of a congeries of small marine animals, of the polypus kind, mixed with calcareous earth. It is fished up by divers, furnished with an iron instrument, from rocky caverns in the bottom of the sea at a great depth. In warm latitudes, the accumulation of this matter rises into islands.

409. The shells of lobsters, &c. and armour, very much resemble one another. In the civil wars, there was a regiment of horse so completely armed, that they were called "Sir Arthur Haselrig's *lobsters.*"—*(N.)*

410. "Bended dolphins play." Dolphins are not more bent than other fishes, but the word alludes to the curve their backs form as they spring forward out of the water, and plunge down again. So Ov. Fast. ii. 113: "tergo delphina recurvo." Their sportive habit is mentioned by Virgil, Æn. v. 595: "luduntque per undas."—*(N.)*

411—415. It is remarked, that the slow, halting, and, as it were, awkward motion of the numbers in this passage, are admirably contrived to express the sense; and that "tempest," used as a verb, increases the labour of the verse, while it adds force to the description. It is evident, that by "leviathan" here he means the *whale*, no matter how learned critics may apply the leviathan in the book of Job to the crocodile. See note on i. 200. He distinctly mentions the crocodile (474) as an amphibious animal; whereas leviathan is a fish.

416. So Ov. Met. iii. 686: "Acceptum patulis mare naribus efflant."—*(N.)*

420. "Fledge," for fledged, as iii. 627. So "satiate" for satiated.

421. "Summed their pens." "Pens," from *penna*, feather, wing. "Sum" is a term in falconry: a hawk is said to be full "summed" when its feathers are full grown. See Par. Reg. i. 14.—*(R.)*

422. "Under a cloud in prospect." Without quoting the various and conflicting interpretations of commentators I may say, that the meaning appears to me to be, that in the distance, when seen from the earth, they appeared as under a cloud, or that their multitude then presented a cloud over the earth. "Prospect," in the occasional sense of *prospectus*, means sometimes, as 556, a distant view.

427. "Intelligent of seasons." So Jerem. viii. 7. This beautiful description of birds of passage, such as cranes, geese, storks, ducks, swallows, flying in winter from northern to southern and warmer climates, is warranted by a passage in Pliny's Natural History, x. 32. "They form a wedge, in order the better to cleave the wind, the leaders being at first in front at the apex, those behind resting their necks on the tails of those before. When the leaders are tired, they fly back to the rear, and those next them take their place; and thus a successive course of laborious duty and relief is kept up during the whole voyage, each taking his turn." See Cicero, de Nat. Deor. ii. 49.—*(N., T.)* The figure in the word "caravan" is most poetic and just The inhabitants of the deserts of Asia and Africa, when making their periodical journeys for the purposes of traffic (or religion, in pilgrimage to the tomb of Mahomet), travel in *caravans*, or *companies*, for the sake of general ease and security, through those lonely and trackless regions.—"The air floats," I apprehend, means, that the action of their wings gives a vibrating motion to the air near them, like that of agitated water under a floating body. Todd gives

a passage from the Prometheus Vinct. of Æschylus (125) somewhat analogous to this line:—

—— αἰθηρ δ' ελαφραις
Πτερυγων ῥιπαις ὑποσυριζει.

433. Virgil, Æn. vii. 32:—

—— "variæ circumque supraque
Assuetæ ripis volucres, et fluminis alveo,
Æthera *mulcebant cantu*, lucoque volabant."

435. Milton has often described the nightingale, and more beautifully than all poets put together. Newton enumerates most of the passages in his works that refer to her. Par. Lost, iii. 37; iv. 602, 771; v. 40; viii. 518; and more particularly El Penseroso, besides passages in his sonnets.

439, 440. "Rows her state with oary feet." Silius Italicus, as Wakefield remarks, says the swan "rows with her feet the silent waves." "Pedibus tacitas eremigat undas," xiv. 190. But no poet has ever attempted any thing like this description. Homer barely designates the swan as "the long-necked." The allusion to the arched neck, when it bows its head, and the wings half spread like a mantle, as it swims along in stately dignity, are pictures truly beautiful, as they are natural.

444—446. He alludes to the peacock, in whose tail, the hundred eyes of Argus were fabled to have been planted by Juno, after he was slain by Mercury.

451. "Living soul." Gen. i. 24. Though, in this passage of Genesis, our translation has "living *creature*," yet Milton follows, as he usually does, the Hebrew text, in which it is "living *soul*." By some strange mistake *fowl* was printed in the early editions for *soul*.—*(N.)*

457. "Lair," layer, or bed.—"Wons," dwells. Both Saxon words.

461 "Rare," (Lat. *rarus*,) scattered here and there; a benevolent provision of the Divine goodness not to make beasts of prey numerous and gregarious, like cattle.—*(N.)*

462. "In broad herds." Spreading widely and numerously. So Il. xi. 678: Ἀτιτολια πλατε' αγων.—*(N.)*

463. "The grassy clods now calved." He supposes the beasts to rise out in perfect form, limbed and full grown, as Raphael had painted this subject before in the Vatican. To *calve* is a general word signifying "to bring forth," and does not relate to cows only. Addison particularly commends this metaphor, and the entire description of the beasts rising out of the earth.—*(N.)*

466. "Brinded." The same as brended, from the Saxon *brennan*, to burn; hence, brown; originally, marked with a brown colour; hence, streaked. See Johnson's Dict. Todd's ed.

467. "Libbard," used by the old poets for leopard.

471. "*Behemoth, biggest born* of earth, upheaved his vastness." The numbers admirably express the heaviness and unwieldiness of the *elephant*, for it is plainly the elephant that Milton means, though Bochart and others say that "behemoth" was the river-horse. The alliteration here, or the same letter commencing a number of words in succession, is remarkable. We had another instance (286) "their *broad bare backs* upheaved." It is the same kind of beauty that is admired in Virgil, Æn. i. 61:—

"Hoc *metuens molemque*, et *montes* insuper altos
Imposuit."—*(N.)*

See 2 Esdras vi. 49. See 451.—*(T.)*

478. "Decked" is a verb. Decked their smallest lineaments, exact in all the liveries, &c.—*(N.)*

482—485. "Minims," from Lat. *minimus*, the smallest things.—*Serpents* "involved their *snaky* folds;" this does not contain tautology; for "*serpent*" is a general word, and includes *all* the *creeping* kind, at least several animals that are not *snakes*, nor have *snaky folds*.—"Some ... added wings;" it is common in poetry to represent the creature as doing that itself, which is done *to* it. So ix. 515, a ship is said to "*steer* and *shift her sail*." So in Virgil's Geor. ii. 535, it is said of Rome—

"Septemque una sibi circumdedit arces."

A particular species of the serpent is mentioned again (495), with the plain view of making Adam more mindful of that animal which was to work his ruin. —*(P.)*

485. "The parsimonious emmet, provident of future." "Emmet," the ant. So Hor. i. Sat. 1, speaking of it:—

—"haud ignara ac non incauta futuri."—*(N.)*

486. "In small room large heart enclosed." So Virgil, Georg. iv. 83, says of bees:—

"Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant."
(N.)

499. It appears this is a fact, that not only the bees, but even the queen, feeds and attends on the drones, who live in the heat of the honey, while the common bees live in a great measure upon wax.—*(N.)*

496, 497. So Virg. *Æn.* i. 206 —

"—— *pelagique*
Sanguineus exuperant fortus."

Thus Olaus Magnus, xxi. 27, describes the Norwegian serpent.—*(T.)*

506—516. Milton, as has been observed before, has *Ovid* necessarily in view, in his description of the creation. *Met.* i. 76.—

"Sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset.
. . . .
Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum
Prona quum cæteri animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit; cœlumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

Pearce justly observes that "prone" in the sense of *prona*, as used by good classic authors, concisely expresses what Ovid's "*prona spectent terram*" can; and that "sanctity of reason" concisely expresses Ovid's entire first line. Stillingfleet observes, "sanctity of reason is the same as *holy reason*, as *purity of love* is *pure love*, &c. Sanctity of reason is *more proper* here, for sanctity is the *effect of reason*, *belongs* to, or is *of* it; I speak *of* an unassisted state." Milton's interweaving with this description man's duty is a peculiar beauty.

519 to 534, taken from Gen. i. 26—28.

535—537. Gen. ii. 8:—"The Lord planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had *formed*." This seems to imply that man was created in some other place, and afterwards brought to paradise; therefore Milton says, "*Wherever* thus created," &c.—*(N.)* See 2 Esdras iii. 6.—*(T.)*

544. "Thou may'st not," i. e. *taste*, classically understood out of the previous participle *tasted*.

548—550. So Gen. i. 31. There is something inexpressibly sublime in the following passages of the poem.—*(Ad.)* Plato represents the Creator surveying his great work, and delighted with its answering his great idea.—*(T.)*

556. See note on 422.

563. "Station." The station of a planet is a term of art, when the planet appears to stand still in its orbit.—*(N.)*

565. Psalm xxiv. 7: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates: and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in." This hymn was sung when the ark of God was carried up into the sanctuary on Mount Sion, and is understood as a prophecy of our Saviour's ascension into heaven: and is therefore duly applied by our author to the same divine Person's ascending thither after he had created the world.—*(N.)*

573. "As stars in thee appear," i. e. set thickly as they are seen in the "Galaxy," or "*Milky Way*," so called from its whiteness.—"Galaxy," γαλαξίας, from γαλα, *milk*. Milton sometimes explains his Greek names: so 619. "the clear *ætherine*, the *glassy* sea:" αἰθήρ, from αἴθω, *glass*.—*(N.)* So also his ample and beautiful definition of the rivers of hell, ii. 575, &c.

589. "Went . . yet stayed." He was in heaven, and at the creation at the same time.—*(N.)*

592, 593. So Gen. ii. 2, 3.

597. On the finger-board of a bass-viol, for instance, are divisions athwart, by which the sound is regulated and varied; these divisions are called "*frets*."—*(R.)* By organs before, he means *all* wind instruments consisting of pipes, and of stops touched by the hand.—*(R., N.)*

599. "Choral or unison." In concert, or sounding alone.—"Of incense clouds;" the use of incense in heaven is mentioned in Rev. viii. 3, 4: "And an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and the smoke of the incense ascended up before God out of the angel's hand."—*(N.)*

602. Milton is generally orthodox. Here he intimates the unity of Father and Son by the word Jehovah.—*(N.)*

605. "Giant angels." This expression, "giant," is not used to signify the stature and size of the angels, but that disposition of mind which is ascribed to the giants, namely, a fierce, aspiring, temper; and this the Hebrew word, *gibbor*, signifies, which is rendered a *giant* in Scripture.—*(P.)* Thus, in Shakspeare (Hen. VIII. act i. sc. 2,) Buckingham is called, "a *giant* traitor—an *aspiring* traitor." The word may be also explained by the expression, "spirits *apostate*," 610, *apostate* being the marginal reading in the Latin version of the Bible for the term *giants*, Gen. vi. 4.—*(T.)*

619. The "hyaline" or "glassy" is

the same as the "crystalline ocean" above the firmament, 271. Rev. iv. 6: "And before the throne was a sea of glass, like unto crystal."—*(N.)* See note 578.

624. "Nether ocean," to distinguish it from the "crystaline ocean," or the waters above the firmament.—*(N.)*

631. "Thrice happy if they know their happiness." Virg. Georg. ii. 458:—

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint."

(N.)

BOOK VIII.

1—39. This book opens with a beautiful description of the impression which the discourse of the archangel made on Adam. Adam afterwards, by a very natural curiosity, inquires concerning the motions of those celestial bodies which made the most glorious appearance among the six days' works. The poet here, with a great deal of art, represents Eve as withdrawing from this part of their conversation, to amusements more suitable to her sex. He well knew that the episode in this book, which is filled with accounts of his passion and esteem for Eve, would have been improper for her hearing; and has therefore devised very just and beautiful reasons for her retiring.

66—179. The angel's returning a doubtful answer to Adam's inquiries was not only proper for the moral reason which the poet assigns, but because it would have been improper to have given the sanction of an archangel to any particular system of philosophy. The chief points in the Ptolemaic and Copernican hypotheses are described with great force and perspicuity, and at the same time dressed in pleasing and poetical images.

179—560. Adam, to detain the angel, enters afterwards into a detail of the circumstances in which he found himself placed after his creation; as also his conversation with his Maker, and his first meeting with Eve. There is no part of the poem more apt to raise the attention of the reader than this discourse of our great ancestor; as nothing can be more surprising and delightful to us than to hear the sentiments that arose in the first man, while he was yet new and fresh from the hands of his Creator. The poet has interwoven every thing which is delivered on this subject by Holy Writ with so many beautiful imaginations of his own, that nothing can be conceived more just and natural than this whole episode. There are two very shining passages that deserve notice: the first, which contains a very noble moral, is 210, &c. The second begins at 229. There is no question but our poet drew the image in what follows this from that in Virgil's Sixth Book, when Æneas and the Sybil stand before the adamantine gates, which are there described as shut upon the place of torments; and listen to the groans, the clank of chains, and the noise of iron whips, that were heard in those regions of pain and sorrow. The many wonderful and charming incidents in this part of the work have in them all the beauties of novelty, at the same time that they have all the graces of nature. They are such as none but a great genius could have thought of; though upon the perusal of them they seem to rise of themselves from the subject of which he treats. In a word, though they are natural they are not obvious; which is the true character of all fine writing.

560 to the end. The sentiments of love in our first parents gave the angel an insight into human nature, that he seems apprehensive of the evils which might befal the species in general, as well as Adam in particular, from the excess of this passion. He therefore fortifies him against it by timely admonitions; which very artfully prepare the mind of the reader for the occurrences of the next book, when the weakness of which Adam gave here such distinct discoveries, brings about that fatal event which is the subject of the poem.—*(Ad.)*

1—4. Newton observes that in the first edition of the poem in ten books, here was only this line—

"To whom thus Adam gratefully replied,"

which in the second edition in twelve

books, the author changed into these four lines. A sentiment similar to this is to be found in many of the best ancient authors. Jortin quotes Apollonius, i. 512, in which it is said, that the harp and voice of Orpheus had such a fascinating effect on the Argonauts, that after he had ceased, they still, one and all, held out their heads, and cocked their ears, entranced by his charming melody. Lord Monboddo quotes the Protagoras of Plato, when Socrates says that after Protagoras (one of the greatest and most judicious of all the old philosophers) had finished his explanatory discourse, he was so transported that he thought him still speaking, and scarce at last collected himself. Bowles quotes Dante, Infern. ii. 113, where the song of Casela the musician, in the regions below, had a similar ravishing effect on Dante. The θειη δε μιν αμφεχυτ' ομφη in Iliad ii. 41, and the ἡ φωνη των ακουσθεντων εναυλη in Lucian's "Dream," must, I doubt not, occur to every classical scholar.

3. "Stood," *i.e.* continued in a fixed attitude, even though he may have been sitting at dinner still, as v. 433. So we use the word commonly.—*(R.)*

15. Milton, after having given so noble an idea of the creation of this new world, takes a proper occasion to show the two great systems; namely, the Ptolemaic and Copernican, as they are usually called; one making the earth, the other the sun, to be the centre: and this he does by introducing Adam very judiciously proposing the difficulties that occur in the first, which was the system most obvious to him. The reply of the archangel touches on the expedients the Ptolemaics invented to solve those difficulties, and patch up their system; and then insinuates that, perhaps, the sun is the centre, and so introduces that system, and withal the noble improvements in the new philosophy; not however determining for one or the other: on the contrary, he rather exhorts our progenitor to apply his thoughts to what more nearly concerns him, and is within his reach. —*(R.)*

19. "Numbered stars." Numbered by whom? by the Creator alone. Psalm cxlvii. 4: "He telleth the number of the stars; he calleth them all by their names." Astronomers also tell their number, but it is of that small part only which they see and name. But neither is this the "numbered" meant here. He would only say they are a vast number, numerous.—*(R.)* "Numbered." "Numerous," as vii. 621.—*(N.)* But as he could write "numerous" here as well as there, I think he meant something more by "numbered" than "numerous," and that it refers to that passage in the Psalm; if not, that it is to be taken as *numeratus* sometimes is, as applied to a great collection of valuable things, well arranged, and carefully reckoned.

20. "Spaces incomprehensible," *i.e. through* spaces incomprehensible. When a body is at a vast distance, and performs its circuit in a day, *both* these circumstances considered together, argue that it rolls through spaces incomprehensible.—*(P.)*

23, 24. "Punctual spot." A spot no bigger than a point, *punctum*, compared with the firmament and fixed stars.—"One day and night," *i.e.* in the compass of one day and night.—*(P.)*

37. "Of incorporeal speed." Not that it was truly so; it signifies only very great speed, such as spirits might use; "speed almost spiritual," as he says, 110. —*(N.)*

40. This is preserving the decorum of character. So, Cephalus in Plato's Republic, and Scævola in Cicero's De Oratore, are made to withdraw when the discourse takes a turn less suited to persons of their character.—*(N.)*

43. "Who saw." *Those* who saw her.

56. "From his lip not words alone pleased her." Ovid (Met. x. 559,) says of Venus while relating a story to her beloved Adonis—

"Sic ait, ac mediis interserit oscula verbis."

But how much more delicate is Milton's expression!—*(N.)*

59—61. "On her, as queen, a pomp of winning graces waited." Tibullus says in praise of Sulpicia, (IV. 2, 7):—

"Illam, quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia flectit,
Componit furtim, subsequiturque, decor."

But how much farther does our poet carry the thought!—*(N.)* "Pomp," πομπη, in its original sense of, a *procession* on solemn occasions, hence a train, or attendance, or company. Thyer says the turn of expression here somewhat resembles Homer's description of Helen proceeding from her chamber not alone, but attended by her domestics. Il. iii. 142:—

Ωρματ' εκ Θαλαμοιο——
Ουκ οιη, αμα τηγε και αμφιπολοι.

70. "This to attain," *i.e.* a knowledge of this hard question, whether it is heaven or earth that moves, as Hume, Richardson, and Dunster understand it—or a

knowledge of the seasons, hours, &c. as Newton understands it, who thus explains the passage: "It imports not, it matters not, whether heaven move, or earth, whether the Ptolemaic or Copernican system be true; a knowledge of the seasons man may still attain; the *rest*, or other more curious points of inquiry concerning the heavenly bodies God hath wisely concealed from man or angel." See 105.

80, 83, 84. "Calculate," and form a judgment of the stars, by computing their motions, distance, situation, &c.: as, to "calculate" a nativity signifies to form a judgment of the events attending it, by computing what planets, in what motions, presided over that nativity: to "calculate the stars," is to make a computation of every thing relating to them, the consequence of which is (in the old system especially) "centric and eccentric, cycle and epicycle," and "orb in orb." "Centric," or concentric, are such spheres whose centre is the same with, and "eccentric" such whose centres are drawn from, the earth. "Cycle" is a circle; "epicycle" (both Greek words) is a circle upon another circle. These were expedients of the Ptolemaics to solve the apparent difficulties in their system.—*(P., R.)*

102. "His line stretched out so far." A Scripture expression. Job xxxviii. 5: "Who hath stretched out the line upon it;" as if God had measured the heavens and the earth with a line.—*(N.)*

103. A fine reflection, and confirmed by the authority of the greatest philosophers, who seem to attribute the first notion of religion in man to his observing the grandeur of the universe. See Cic. Tuscul. Disput. lib. i. sec. 28, and De Natur. Deor. lib. ii. sect. 6.—*(Stil.)*

107, 108. Cic. Somn. Scip. c. iii.: "Stellæ quæ et rotundæ circos suos orbesque conficiunt celeritate mirabili."—"Numberless," Bentley would join to "swiftness," as 38. Pearce joins it to "circles," and says the sense is—"It is God's omniscience that gives to the circles, though so numberless, such a degree of swiftness."

128—140. "In six thou seest," *i. e.* In the moon and five other planets, the five wandering fires as they are called, 5, 177. Their motions are evident; what if the earth should be a seventh, and "move three different motions," though to thee imperceptible? The three different motions which the Copernicans attribute to the earth are the *diurnal* round her own axis, the *annual* round the sun, and the motion of *libration*, as it is called, whereby the earth so proceeds in her orbit, as that her axis is constantly parallel to the axis of the world.—"Which else to several spheres thou must ascribe;" *i. e.* you must ascribe either these motions to several spheres crossing and thwarting one another with crooked and indirect windings and turnings; or you must attribute them to the earth, and so "save the sun his labour," and the primum mobile too, "that swift nocturnal and diurnal *rhomb*," or (as he translates the Greek word *βομβος*, as is usual with him, see vii. 619,) "the *wheel* of day and night;" So he calls the *primum mobile*; which in the ancient astronomy was an imaginary sphere above those of the planets and fixed stars, and therefore said to be "supposed and invisible above all stars." This was supposed to be the *first mover* (as the words import) and to carry all the lower spheres round along with it; by its rapidity communicating to them a motion whereby they revolved in twenty-four hours: "which needs not thy belief, if earth," &c.; but there is no need to believe this, if the earth by revolving round on her own axis from west to east in twenty-four hours ("travelling east") enjoys day in that half of her globe which is turned towards the sun, and is covered with night in the other half which is turned away from the sun.—*(N.)*

145. The spots in the moon cannot be clouds and vapours, because they are observed to be fixed. They are her seas and waters, which reflect only part of the sun's rays and absorb the rest.—*(N.)* See note on v. 415—419.

150. The suns communicate male, and the moons female light. And thus Pliny mentions it as a tradition, that the sun is a masculine star drying all things; on the contrary, that the moon is a soft and female star dissolving humours: and so the balance of nature is preserved, some of the stars binding the elements, and others loosing them, Plin. Nat. Hist. b. ii. c. 100. —*(N.)*

157. "This habitable," *i. e.* earth, an adjective used substantively. So "this terrene," vi. 78. So in Greek, *οικουμενη, the inhabited*, means the earth.—*(R.)*

158. Pearce agrees with Bentley in his objection to "light" here, "for if the fixed stars convey only a *glimpse of light* to our earth, it is too much to say that she returns back to them 'light' in general,

which implies more than a glimpse of it." Then as it is intimated (140,) that the earth does send out "light" from her, he would propose to read "*like* back to them," *i.e.* only a glimpse of light, just as much and no more than she receives. No doubt "*like* back to them" would be very proper, if Milton wrote the words, and would be a good emendation, if "*light* back to them" were indefensible. But as Milton wrote "light," the business of a commentator is to explain it. In my opinion, the reference to 140 is a complete answer to the objection. He speaks here, as he did there, in *general* terms of the emission of light from the earth, without specifying its quantity. Besides, he says the whole subject may be disputed.

159. After arguing on the supposition of the truth of the Ptolemaic system to v. 122, and then of the Copernican, he now recapitulates the whole.—*(N.)*

164—166. These lines, which convey metaphors from the spinning of a top (see Æn. vii. 378,) obviate the objection to the Copernican system, viz. that, if the earth moved on her axle in twenty-four hours, we should be sensible of the rapidity and violence of the motion. —*(N.)*

167. "Solicit not thy thought." "Solicit" in the sense of *solicitare*, to *disturb*.

173. "Be lowly wise." "Noli altum sapere." A proverb.—*(H.)*

183. See Sams. Agon. 300, 306.—*(T.)*

193. Juv. 13, xx.—

"Hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitæ,
Nec jactare jugum, vita didicere magistra."
(T.)

201—203. The poet had probably in view that passage, Ecl. v. 45:—

"Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,
Quale sopor fessis in gramine; quale per æstum
Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restinguere rivo."

But the fine turn in the three last lines of Milton is entirely his own, and gives an exquisite beauty to this passage above Virgil's. (Essay on Milton.) Stillingfleet and Todd refer also to the address of Telemachus to Menelaus, Odyss. iv. 594:—

Ατρειδη, μη δη με πολυν χρονον ενθαδ' ερυκε,
Και γαρ κ' εις ενιαυτον εγω παρα σοι γ' υπεχοιμην
Ημενος, ουδε κε μ' οικου ελοι ποθος, ουδε τοκηων·
Αινως γαρ μυθοισιν επεσσι τε σοισιν ακουων
Τερπομαι.

212, &c. "Fruits of palm-tree," *i.e.* dates, full of sweet and renovating juice. One species, the Palma Ægyptiaca, was called, *ἀδίψος, or, thirst banisher.*—*(H.)* Psalm cxix. 103: "How sweet are thy words to my taste: yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth."—*(Gil.)* See Addison, sect. 3.

222. See note on 60, 61.

225. So the angel says to St. John, Rev. xxii. 9: "I am thy fellow-servant." —*(N.)*

229. Milton had good reason to make his angel absent on the sixth day, not only to vary the speaker, but because Adam could best, or only, tell some particulars not to be omitted.—*(R.)* As man was the principal work of God, and created to supply the place of the fallen angels, Milton says, as an honour to man, that the angels kept watch at the gates of hell to prevent any interruption thence. —*(N.)* See Addison, sect. 3.

242—244. Æn. vi. 557:—

"Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
Verbera; tum stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ:
Constitit Æneas, strepitumque exterritus hausit."

Newton adds, that Astolfo is represented in like manner listening at the gates of hell. Orl. Fur. c. xxxiv. st. 4. Todd quotes Dante, Infer. iv. 7.

255. "In balmy sweat." This is an allusion taken from the exudations of the *balsamum*, the most agreeably odorous of all trees known.—*(Stil.)* "Reeking," steaming, smoking, from the Saxon *rec*, smoke.—*(N.)*

258. "Gazed awhile the ample sky." Here "gazed" is classically used actively, as αγαζομαι (from which it is derived) sometimes is in Homer, to survey with wonder.

263. "Liquid lapse of murmuring streams." From Ausonius: "At vada lene meant, *liquidarum* et *lapsus aquarum*."—*(D.)*

265, 266. "All things smiled." Virg. Ecl. vii 55: "omnia nunc rident." In some of the best modern editions a stop has been made after "smiled," and "fragrance" is connected with "joy." This reading is approved of by Newton, Richardson, Thyer, and Todd, because by it the imitation of Virgil is more conspicuous; but I do not think this a sufficient reason, if Milton himself furnishes a reason why "fragrance" should be joined to "smiled," so iv. 165:—

"Pleased with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles."

There ocean smiles in consequence of the smell or fragrance. Here all things smile

in consequence of the fragrance—even things that emitted none, as many did not; and by reason of this smiling aspect of external nature and the fragrance, his heart rebounds.

272. There is a contradiction between this passage, and 352, &c. In this passage, Adam says he could name whatever he saw before he got into paradise; in the second, he says that God gave him the ability when the beasts came to him in paradise; for this last passage alludes to the rabbinical opinion that he gave names according to their natures (clearer expressed 438, &c.) and the knowledge of their natures, he says, God then suddenly endued him with.—(*Warb.*) This, I think, is incorrect. Here the names he uses are quite *general*; the earth, hills, dales, wood, creatures, &c. without any allusion to particular qualities. All elevations he calls "hills;" all places covered with timber, "woods;" all bodies of water, "rivers;" all things that live and move, "creatures;" though each of these classes was afterwards divided into a number of distinct *species*, according to their natures; and it was *particular* names that, in the second passage, Adam gave to the several species, according to their separate nature, and particular attributes. I think there is no contradiction, although the other opinion has been adopted by the modern commentators.

287, &c. "This passage," says Addison, "can never be sufficiently admired." This, and the following lines, says Stillingfleet, resemble the description of the sleep which fell on Ulysses, Odyss. xiii. 79:—

Και τῳ νηδυμος ὑπνος επι βλεφαροισιν επιπτε,
Νηρετος, ἡδιστος, θανατῳ αγχιστα εοικως.

292. "Stood at my head a dream." So dream stood over Agamemnon's head, the seat of fancy. Il. ii. 20:—

Στη δ' αρ ὑπερ κεφαλης.—(*H.*)

296. "Thy mansion *wants* thee." Rather *waits* thee, says Dr. Bentley; but "*wants*" is right, as in 5, 365:—

"Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while to *want*."—(*P.*)

Though "*wants*" is a better and more poetical expression than *waits*, I do not think the passage quoted (though the modern commentators seem to agree with Pearce) is to the point; for there, "want" is in the sense of *carere*, or *abesse*, "to be without," or absent from; but here it is in the sense of *desiderare*, "to long for;" as in Pliny xvii. 26, "desiderant rigari arbores," "the trees want, or long, to be watered." Bare identity of phrase is not enough, unless there be identity of signification. The word "want" in this sense is now in constant use.

299—303. See note on vii. 535. The poet perhaps had in mind that passage in Virgil, Æn. i. 691, when Venus conveys through the air young Ascanius asleep from Carthage to mount Idalia, where he is laid on a bed of flowers; or he had scriptural authority for such a removal in Acts viii. 39, where it is said, "The Spirit of the Lord *caught away* Philip, and he was found at Azotus." Milton seems here to agree with those commentators who thought man was not formed in Paradise, but placed there afterwards, to show that he had no title to it by nature, but only by grace.—(*N.*)

302. See note on vi. 71.

316. Greenwood imagines, and I think justly, that from the position of the words, "I am," so emphatically at the end of the verse, Milton alluded to the name which God gave himself, Exod. iii. 14: "God said unto Moses, *I am that I am*; and he said, Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, *I Am* hath sent me unto you."

320. "To *till* and keep," Gen. ii. 15: "to *dress* it and to keep it." Hence Bentley objects to the word "*till*" here. But Pearce has shown, by many authorities and proofs, that the Hebrew original, עָבַד, properly means, to *labour*, *cultivate* or *till*, (though the English translators chose to use "*dress*," as perhaps more applicable to a garden); the Greek and Latin versions so interpret it likewise. The same word is in the English translation, Gen. iii. 23, rendered "*till*."

323. As this was the great hinge on which the whole poem turns, the poet has marked the passage with peculiar emphasis, and has strikingly dwelt upon it.—(*R.*)

330. Gen. ii. 17: *i.e.* From that day thou shalt become mortal.—(*N.*)

335. To this he alludes after his fall, x. 779.—(*T.*)

336, 337. See note on 5, 710.

353. See note on 272. Gen. ii. 19, 20. Cicero agrees with Pythagoras that it was an instance of the highest wisdom to give things their right names in the beginning. Tuscul. Disput. i. 25.—(*H.*) What a noble episode! what a divine dialogue has Milton spun out of only *two* verses of Gen. ii. 19, 20.—(*N.*)

357. The reason why Milton ascribes

to Adam an inspired knowledge of the natures of his fellow-creatures, before the nature of his Creator, seems to be, that in the ordinary way of acquiring knowledge we ascend from the creature to the Creator.—*(Warb.)* This dialogue, which is supported chiefly by the beauty of the thoughts, without other practical ornaments, is as fine a part as any other in the whole poem. The more the reader examines the justness and delicacy of its sentiments, the more will he be pleased with it.—*(Ad.)*

372. That brutes have a kind of language among themselves is evident and undeniable. There is a treatise in French on the language of brutes.—*(N).* The reader may derive much pleasure and information from the perusal of a treatise entitled "An Examination of Father Bougeant's Philosophical Amusement, concerning *the Language of Birds and Beasts*, &c. By John Hildrop, M.A. 1742. —*(N., T.)*

379. "O let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak." Gen. xviii. 30.—*(N.)*

384. "Can sort." Can consort, unite, or fit.

386, 387. A musical metaphor from strings, of which the stretched and highest give a smart sharp sound, the slack a flat and heavy one; but in disparity, such as exists between creatures of different natures, man and the brute—man *intense*, kept on the stretch, anxiously attentive, strained up to the high pitch of understanding—the brute *remiss*, careless, slothful, grovelling in low perceptions, one cannot well suit with the other. —*(H.)*

395, &c. The brute cannot converse in rational delight with man (391, 392); still less can one irrational animal so converse with another, not only if they be of a different species, as bird and beast, fish and fowl are; but even if they be of the same species, as the ox and ape are, the most widely different creatures of any which are of the same species. But "least of all" can man converse in a rational way with irrational creatures. Here there is a very proper gradation.—*(P.)*

407. "Second or like." Hor. i. Od. xii. 18:—

"Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum."

Christ says, "the Father is greater than me."

413, 414. See Rom. xi. 33: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"—*(H.)*

417. "Cause of his desire." His *imperfection* (for he was perfect only to a certain degree) is the cause of his desire, as is afterwards more fully explained, 423, &c.

421. "Through all numbers absolute." Perfect in all parts, a Latin expression; as Cicero says, "omnibus numeris absolutus."—*(N.)* *Absolutus*, finished off.

423. "His single imperfection." The imperfection of him single, a classical mode of speaking often adopted by Milton.—"In unity defective." "Defective" agrees with "man;" man being defective in a state of singleness. This obliges him to multiply his race.

440. Milton supposes the very image of God, in which man was made, to consist in the freedom of the human mind. Clarius, in his remarks on this passage of Scripture, refers to St. Basil the Great for the same interpretation. The sentiment, though uncommon, is grand.—*(Th.)*

444. See Gen. ii. 18.

453—490. The Scripture says only that "the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam," Gen. ii. 21; and Milton tells how it was effected. Adam's faculties were so strained by conversing with so superior a being that he sunk down exhausted, and Sleep, whom he poetically personifies, came and closed his eyes. So Daniel (x. 17), represented himself as overpowered by his colloquy with the angel: "straightway there remained no strength in me." But "the deep sleep" was what the Greek interpreters render by *trance* or *ecstasy*, εκστασις, in which the person is *abstract* (*abstractus*), withdrawn as it were from himself, yet sees things with the *eye of the mind*. In this sense, the passage (Numb. xxiv. 4), "falling into a trance, but having *his eyes opened*," as applied to the prophet Balaam, before he prophesies the happiness of Israel, who "heard the words of God, and saw the vision of the Almighty," is explained by the old and learned commentators Vatablus and Fagius. This frequent recollection in Milton, not only of every applicable Scripture passage, but of every material comment on them, shows the wonderful extent of his reading and memory. The Scripture only says, "one of his ribs" was taken out; but Milton follows those interpreters who suppose this rib was taken from the *left*

side, as being nearer to the heart. The description of Eve (471) resembles the picture of Helen drawn by Venus for Paris, Marino Adon. ii. 173. Her disappearance leaving him dark (478) is a beautifully poetic figure, to express his gloomy and forlorn state; *light*, in almost all languages being a metaphor for *joy* and *comfort*. So, in his sonnet on his deceased wife:—

"She fled, and day brought back my night."
(*N., Th., T., D.*)

Φως in Homer is used for a gleam of joy and hope, a ray of safety.

494. "Nor enviest." Nor thinkest this gift too good for me. So i. 260; iv. 517; ix. 770. The word is to be connected with "hast fulfilled."—(*P.*)

498. Gen. ii. 23, 24. This is a proof that his sleep was a trance, in which he saw every thing. Milton's monosyllabic lines often possess great force and beauty. See ii. 621, 950.—(*H., N.*)

502. "Conscience," *conscientia*, here, as in our English version of the Bible, Heb. x. 2; 1 Cor. viii. 7, means, *consciousness*.—(*P.*)

503. So Shakspeare:—

"She's beautiful, and therefore to be *woo'd*;
She is a woman, therefore to be *won*."
(*T.*)

511. "Blushing like the morn." Milton's is an elegant comparison in the Eastern style; the *bride* of Solomon being likened to the morning, Cant. vi. 10: "Who is she that looketh forth *as the morning?*"—(*T.*) Burke, in his usually matchless style, has applied this comparison, in his Essay on the French Revolution, to the young queen, afterwards beheaded.—"Just risen above the horizon, glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy."

513. See Il. xiv. 347.—(*T.*)

520. Milton writes here in classical language. The *evening* star was the signal among the ancients to light their lamps and torches in order to conduct the bride home to the bridegroom. Catullus "vesper adest, juvenes consurgite," &c. See xi. 588.—"Hill top" is a classical expression for above the hills. See Virg. Æn. ii. 801. Ecl. viii. 30. So Spenser, Fairy Queen, I. ii. 1:—

—"Phœbus' fiery car
In haste was climbing up the eastern *hill*."
(*N.*)

537. See Samson Agonistes, 1025.—(*N.*)

543. It seems that here the image of God in man was the dominion given him over the other creatures. This does not agree with 440; but he sometimes varies his hypothesis as may best suit his subject.—(*Th.*)

547. "Absolute." See note 421.

550. "Wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best." The number of superlatives here without the conjunction, or, as it is by grammarians called, the asyndaton construction, is evidently designed to fix the attention; the necessarily slow motion of the verse, too, serves that purpose: the word "virtuousest," too, is artfully introduced; it is an unusual superlative of the word *virtuous*, and must be considered as a classical imitation; *piissimus* being found in some of the old Latin poets for *maxime pius*. So *piousest* and *virtuousest* may be poetically used for most pious, and most virtuous.

569. He uses these three words which are in the Marriage Service agreeably to Scripture, Ephes. v. 28, 29; 1 Pet. iii. 7.—(*N.*)

576. "Adorn," by poetic license for *adorned*. So Ital. *adorno* for *adornato*. So iii. 627, "fledge" for *fledged*; ix. 901, "devote" for *devoted*.—(*N.*)

589. "Love refines the thoughts," &c. So Spenser, Fairy Queen, III. v. 2, and Hymn of Love, 190; but there is no doubt that both these admired poets had in view the refined theory of love of the divine Plato, and that Milton in particular, in what he says here, had his eye especially upon that passage, where the *scale by which we must ascend to heavenly love* is both mentioned and described, Plat. Conviv.—(*Th.*) See c. ii. of "Life of Milton" (prefixed to this ed.) at the end.

591. *i. e.* Pure love chooses proper qualities in the object.—(*P.*)

598. "The genial bed." The *lectus genialis*, or marriage bed. See iv. 743.

607. "Subject not." Do not enslave me.

627—629. *i. e.* spirits not only mix total, but at a distance, without approaching one another, as the human body to mix with body, and soul with soul must.—(*P.*)

631. "Cape," is Cape de Verd, the most western point of Africa, off which lie the Cape de Verd Islands, called here the "verdant isles."—"Hesperian sets," *i. e.* sets westward, from Hesperus, the evening star, appearing there. He very properly closes the discourse with those moral reflections which were designed to

make a lasting impression on Adam.—(*N.*) See Apollon. Argon. iii. 1190:—

Ηελιος μεν οπωθεν ερεμνην δυετο γαιαν
Εσπεριος, νιατας υπερ ακμας Αθιοπηων.—(*T.*)

635. "His great command," *i. e.* not to eat of the forbidden tree.

637. "Admit" is used here in the Latin sense, *admittere* sometimes signifying to *commit*, as Ter. Heautontim. act v. sc. 2:—

"Quid ego tantum sceleris *admisi* miser?"
(*N.*)

638. Æn. xii. 59:—

"In te domus omnis inclinata recumbit."
(*H.*)

645. "Benediction" here is not *blessing*, but *thanks*, as Par Reg. iii. 127; to "*bless* God" is a common religious phrase for to *thank* God. "Since to part," by the ellipsis of "it is necessary." So δει, *it must be*, is often understood in Greek. As he is just departing, Adam uses brevity of speech.—(*P.*, *Monbod.*)

647. "From whose goodness." From *him* whose goodness. The antecedent is often omitted by Milton, in imitation of the Greeks.

652. When the angel rose to depart, Adam followed him from the bower where they had been conversing to a shady walk that led to it, and here they parted.—"Bower" here means his *inmost* bower, or place of rest, iv. 738.—(*N.*) Compare the parting of Jupiter and Thetis, in the first Iliad:—

Τω γ' ως βουλευσαντε διετμαγον· η μεν επειτα
Εις αλα αλτο βαθειαν, απ' αιγληεντος Ολυμπου
Ζευς δε δον προς δωμα.—(*T.*)

BOOK IX.

THE Ninth Book is raised upon that brief account in Scripture, Gen. iii. wherein we are told the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field; that he tempted the woman to eat of the forbidden fruit; that she was overcome by his temptation; and that Adam followed her example. From these few particulars Milton has formed one of the most entertaining fables that invention ever produced. He has disposed of these circumstances among so many agreeable fictions of his own, that his whole story looks only like a comment on Holy Writ, or rather seems a complete relation of what the other is only an epitome. The disposition and contrivance of the fable I look upon to be the principal beauty of the Ninth Book, which has more *story* in it, and is fuller of incidents, than any other in the whole poem.—(*Addison.*)

1. "I cannot but own that an author is generally guilty of an unpardonable self-love, when he lays aside his subject to descant upon himself: but that human frailty is to be forgiven in Milton; nay, I am pleased with it; he gratifies the curiosity he has raised in me about him. When I admire the author, I desire to know something of the man; and he whom all readers would be glad to know is allowed to speak of himself. But this, however, is a very dangerous example for a genius of an inferior order, and is only to be justified by success."—(*Voltaire, Essay on Epic Poetry.*) It is clear that Milton thought a great poet may digress from his subject to speak of himself, long before he commenced this poem; for in his Discourse on "the Reason of Church Government," apologizing for saying so much of himself, he says: "A poet soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might without apology speak more of himself than I mean to do." The poet says that he must now treat no more of familiar discourse with God or angel. In the preceding episode, which was a conversation between Adam and the angel, it is stated that Adam held discourse with God (viii. 455.) The Lord God and the angel Michael hold discourse with Adam in the following books; but these discourses are not familiar conversation as with a friend, for the one comes to judge, and the other to expel him from paradise. "The Lord spake to Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend," Exod. xxxiii. 11. Milton, who knew the Scriptures thoroughly, and continually profits from their vast sublimity and treasures, has done it here

remarkably. The episode is taken from the 18th chapter of Genesis, where the Lord, or (according to an ancient opinion, and that of many of the modern scholars,) *Christ*, and two angels are said to have been entertained by Abraham; or "God" may here mean that the divine presence was so effectually with his messengers that *himself* was also there. —*(Th., R., N.)*

5. As the author is now changing his subject, he professes likewise to change his style agreeably to it. The reader must not therefore expect henceforward such lofty images and descriptions as before; which may serve as an answer to those critics who censure the latter books as falling below the former.—*(N.)* "Venial" here is quoted as an example by Johnson, of the word meaning permitted, allowed, from *venia*. But to "permit permitted discourse" is awkward tautology. I rather imagine it means moderate, excusable, inoffensive."

7. Read "disloyal, on the part."

12. "Misery" here means sickness, and all sorts of mortal pains See xi. 475. Atterbury and Warburton think "a world of woe" is to be taken in apposition to "this world," (see viii. 332,) in order to avoid the low quaintness of making the words depend on "brought." —*(N., T.)*

14—28. Though several particulars are specified as parts of his present subject, (6, &c.), that of the "*anger of God*," (10), was the consequence of those, and his *only subject*. It is this which he places in opposition to the *anger of men and gods*, in which he has the advantage of Homer and Virgil; the anger of the true God being an argument much more heroic than theirs. His theme was in truth more sublime than the wrath of Achilles, who dragged his dead foe Hector thrice round the walls of Troy; or of Neptune, who caused the shipwreck of Ulysses; both celebrated by Homer in his Iliad and Odyssey: or of Turnus, who was deprived of his espoused, or betrothed bride Lavinia, by Æneas, the son of Cytherea, or Venus; or of Juno, who was the great persecutor of Æneas, fearing him as the remote cause of the foundation of Rome, the fatal rival of her favourite Carthage; both celebrated by Virgil in the Æneid. From this and iii. 32, and from passages in his 5th Elegy, 6 and 23, written when he was only twenty years old, it appears that the inspiration came upon him chiefly at night and in spring. See also vii. 29. It is stated that he first proposed as the subject of the epic poem the story of King Arthur, the British hero of romance, and changed it for the reasons here assigned. Aubrey relates in his manuscript account of Milton, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, that Milton began his Paradise Lost about two years *before the Restoration*, and completed it about three years after that event.—*(Rich., T., Wart., N., T.)*

28—40. As Virgil rivalled Homer, Milton rivals and surpasses both. Both occupied the provinces of war, morality, and politics; Milton took up another species, that of religion. The principal subjects of the heroic poems from the time of Homer downwards, were wars, games, and festivals. Homer, in the 23d book of the Iliad, Virgil, in the 5th book of the Æneid, and Statius, in the 6th book of the Thebaid, have described games and races. So "*jousts* (or tilts) and *tournaments*," are often the subjects of the modern poets, as Ariosto, Spenser, &c. The *joust* usually meant the combat of lances between two persons only; the *tournament* included all martial games. The combatants were called *tilters*, from their *running at each* other on horseback, with uplifted spears, and then thrusting; most probably from the verb *tollo*, to raise. *Tournament* is supposed to be derived from the Italian *tornare*, turning, or wheeling round during the action, and returning to the charge.—"Emblazoned shields." He glances at the Italian poets, who were in general too circumstantial about these particulars. — "Impresses quaint," *i. e.* emblems and devices on the shield, alluding to the name, the condition, or the fortune of the wearer, which were often curious, obscure, and fantastical.— "Bases;" the housings of the horses, which hung down to the ground.—"Marshalled, sewers, seneshals." The marshal placed the guests according to their rank, and saw that they were properly served. The "sewer" marched in before the meats, and arranged them on the table, and was originally called "asseour," from the French *asseoir*, to set down or place. And the "seneshal" was the household steward; a name of frequent occurrence in old books. (See *N., R., Johns., T.)* Nares, in his Glossary, says it is quite wrong to apply "bases" to the housings or saddle cloths of the horses; "bases" properly means a kind of embroidered mantle, reaching from the middle down to the knees, or lower, worn by knights on

sorceress. In Butler's Hudibras, I. ii. 749 it is used for a witch; spirits. In Fairy Queen, 7 · 20. a woman's petticoat and upon verse for nurses and nurse.

81. "Me, if thee he mean his enemy." The usual construction in English is "enemy to a thing," but the Latin construction is "per hunc inimicus est," enemy by a thing. —*Monthly Remains.* "Remains." Milton elsewhere uses this word actively, in the sense of "wants," as which is sometimes used in Latin.

84, 85. And it is surprising that at his time of life, and after such troublesome times as he had passed through, he should have so much poetical fire remaining; for he was near sixty when this poem was published.—(*N.*) See "Life of Milton" prefixed to this edition, p. ii. 7—end.

88. *Job* i. 7. "And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? And Satan answered, *From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.*"—(*T.*)

94—96. "Thrice the equinoctial line he circled." He travelled on with the night three times round the equator; he was three days moving round from east to west as the sun does, but always on the opposite side of the globe in darkness. "Four times crossed the car of night from pole to pole;" i. e. did not move directly on with the night as before, but crossed over from the northern to the southern, and from the southern to the northern pole. "Traversing each colure;" as the equinoctial line or equator is a great circle encompassing the earth from east to west, and from west to east again; so the *colures* are two great circles intersecting each other at right angles in the poles of the world, and encompassing the earth from north to south, and from south to north again; and therefore, as Satan was moving from pole to pole at the same time that the car of night was moving from east to west, if he would still keep in the shade of night as he desired, he could not move in a straight line, but must move obliquely, and thereby cross the two colures. In short, Satan was three days compassing the earth from east to west, and four days from north to south, but still kept always in the shade of night, and on the eighth night returned.—(*N.*) "Colure," from κολος, mutilated, and ουρα, a tail, so named because a part is always beneath the horizon. They are called the equinoctial and solstitial colures, one passing through the equinoctial points Aries and Libra, the other through the solstitial points Cancer and Capricorn, and divide the ecliptic into four equal parts. The points where they intersect the ecliptic are called the Cardinal Points.

[illegible] See v. 224, &c.

[illegible] So Thetis rose in the Il. i. 359:—

——— ἀνὰ πόντου δύσετο μακρὸν ἀϋτήν.—*Y.*

97—42. As we said before in astronomical, so here we have a geographical account of Satan's peregrinations. He steered sea and land, northward from Eden over Pontus Euxinus, the Euxine Sea, now called the Black Sea, north of Constantinople, and the Palus Mœotis, now the sea of Azoph, above the Black Sea, and communicating with it by the Cimmerian Bosphorus; "up beyond the river Oby" in Muscovy, near the north pole; "downward as far antarctic," as far southward. The northern hemisphere being elevated on our globes, the north is called "up," and the south, "downwards;" "antarctic," south, the contrary to arctic, north, from Arctos, the Bear, the most conspicuous constellation near the north pole. But no particular place is mentioned near the south pole, because in Milton's time all sea and land there were unknown.—In "length," i. e. west and east, see note on iii. 555, and 574., "from Orontes," a famous river in Syria, to the isthmus of "Darien," which separates North and South America, and hinders the ocean as it were with a bar from flowing between them: and thence to Hindostan or India.—*N.*)

86. So Gen. iii. 1: "Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field." The subtlety of the serpent is commended likewise by Aristotle and other naturalists.—(*N.*)

89. "Fittest imp of fraud." Fittest stock to graft his devilish fraud on.—(*H.*) "Imp," Welsh, properly a young slip of a tree; hence, offspring. Johnson says the word here means, "subaltern, or puny devil, a sense in which the word is still used."

99, &c. This speech has not been particularly noticed by Addison, and has been censured by some critics as commencing with an extravagant, if not false praise of the earth, and inconsistent with Satan's observations of the stars and planets, that they were in appearance inhabited worlds, iii. 566, &c. But an examination of the whole speech will convince any judicious reader that there is not in the whole poem a more

masterly passage, or more characteristic speech. It is a concentration of Satan's usual habit of depreciating the Almighty —of his envy, remorse, ambition, and malignant spite. It is a thoroughly Satanic speech. Having for the first time had a full survey of the earth (and it must be borne in mind that it is the earth before the change produced in it by the fall of man,) he says, in his natural admiration of it, and his disposition to sink the character of God, that it was the most complete of his works, as created last, and being built on second thought. Besides, he felt a complacency at the idea of reducing to his empire this (as he calls it) the noblest work of God. It is common with people to undervalue what they have lost by their folly or wickedness, and to overvalue any good they hope to attain. So Satan here questions if earth be not preferable to heaven. Spenser has, on a like occasion, the same thought, (Fairy Queen, IV. x. 23,) for, describing the gardens surrounding the temple of Venus, he says,—

"That if the happy souls which do possess
The Elysian fields, and live in lasting bliss,
Should happen this with living eye to see,
They soon would loath their lesser happiness."

(See *N.*, *Th.*)

113. The three kinds of life rising by steps, the vegetable, animal, and rational. Man grows as plants, minerals, and all things inanimate; he has sense or feeling like all animals; and, moreover, has reason.—*(R.)*

119. "Place or refuge." Some commentators are unnecessarily captious here. The passage clearly means, there is no "place" here for me to dwell in, nor if there were, could it be a "refuge" from my mental torments; for I cannot hope to be less miserable.

127. "Such as I," *i.e.* I *am*. The usual Syntax is, such as *me*.—*(N.)*

130. "Him destroyed;" properly, "*he* destroyed." What the Latins make the *ablative* absolute, is in English the *nominative* absolute. Milton, however, sometimes adopts the Latin form, as, vii. 142; Samson, 463.—*(T.)*

164. See note on 400.

169. "Down." Milton, in imitation of Homer, who uses the adverb *αν*, *ανα*, elliptically, the verb of motion being understood, uses "up" here, and x. 503, in the same way. Newton quotes a beautiful instance of the use of such adverbs from Shakspeare, Hen. IV. p. ii.:—

"For now a time is come to mock at form.
Henry the Fifth is crown'd: up vanity;
Down royal 'state.'"

174. "Since, higher, I fall short;" *i. e.* since if I aim higher (*i. e.* at God,) in my revenge I fail.

176. "Son of despite," *i. e.* created by God to spite Satan. A Hebraism.—*(N.)*

178. Æschyl. Prometh. 944:—

Οὐτως ὑβριξειν τουτ ὑβριζοντας χρεων.—*(R.)*

186. "Grassy herb." Virg. Ecl. v. 26: "Graminis herbam."—*(N.)*

187—189. So Mars is represented as entering the warrior in Homer, filling him with courage and vigour. Il. xvii. 210:—

——— δυ δε μιν Αρης
Δεινος ενυαλιος· πλησθεν δ' αρα οἱ μελε' εντος
Αλκης και σθενεος.—*(Stil.)*

192, 193. This was the morning of the ninth day, as far as we can reckon the time in this poem, a great part of the action lying out of the sphere of day. The first day we reckon that wherein Satan came to the earth; the space of seven days after he was coasting round the earth; and he comes to Paradise again on the night previous to this morning. The morning is often called "sacred" by the poets, because that time is usually allotted to sacrifice and devotion, as Eustathius says in his remarks on Homer. —*(N.)* "Breathed" is classically used here in an enlarged sense, like the Latin *spirare*, to mean, emitted the steam or vapour of; subsequent poets have imitated this use of it, as Gray in his Elegy—

"The breezy call of *incense breathing morn*."
(Th., T.)

Halare is strictly used in this sense, Lucret. ii. 847:—

"Et nardi florem, nectar qui naribus halat."

197. So Gen. viii. 21: "The Lord smelled a sweet savour;" a poetic reference to the ancient sacrifices.

199. "Creatures wanting voice," *i. e.* human voice. But they could emit sounds in their orison worship to the Deity.

211. This is an improvement upon Virg. Georg. ii. 201:—

"Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet."
(T.)

218. "Spring of roses." "Spring" here means poetically and figuratively, the production of spring, a bed, or shrubbery of springing roses. Lucretius, b. ix. epigr. 14, uses *ver* for *flores*,—

"Cum breve Cecropiæ ver populantur apes."

See note on v. 394.

[illegible]

353. "Ware." An old adjective, the same as *aware*.—(*N.*)

359. "Firm we subsist." By a firm resistance against temptation we can maintain our present state of existence.

367. "Approve" is here used in the sense of *probare*, to render approved, or tried; hence, to show a thing faultless.

386, &c. As this is the last description of Eve in a state of innocence, Milton has

[illegible]

468. "Though in mid heaven;" *i.e.* even were he in the midst of heaven; or it may refer to Job ii. 1: "There was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord: and Satan also came among them to *present* himself." So Satan speaks, Par. Reg. i. 366.

"nor from the heaven of heavens
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes."—(*N.*)

468. "Incenses." Ketcham. [illegible] the mettle of a cur. So Shakespeare, As You Like It, act [illegible]

[illegible] *N.*

469. As the dragon, or serpent, is described by Hesiod, or Lucr. Aug. 44:—

[illegible] *T.*

469. Milton has not only imitated Virg. Aen. ii. 21 in this description, but has remarked all the good points which [illegible] a remarkable description of a serpent.

[illegible]
[illegible] *N.*

"Darkness ne'er." So Shakspeare in Hamlet's speech to the players:—

"With eyes like carbuncles, the hellish Pyrrhus
Old grandsire Priam seeks."—Steevens.

"Incenses." A word resembling in its colour a burning coal.

[illegible]—516. Satan here is compared and preferred to the most memorable of those serpents into which persons were transformed. Cadmus, together with his wife Harmonia or Hermonia, leaving Thebes in Boeotia, which he had founded, and for [illegible] quitted, went to Illyria, and were there turned into serpents for having [illegible] to Mars. (See Ov. Met. iv. 563.) Aesculapius, the god of physic, who was worshipped at Epidaurus, having been supplicated by a deputation from Rome to allay a pestilence raging there, was said to have gone to Rome for the purpose in the form of a serpent. See Livy, b. xi.; Ov. Met. xv. Jupiter Ammon was said to have had intercourse in the form of a serpent with Olympias, and thus to have begotten Alexander the Great. In like manner Jupiter Capitolinus was said to have begotten Scipio Africanus, who raised his country to the highest pitch of glory.—(*N.*) The critics have observed a difficulty in the construction of the word "changed" here. Pearce says it may be excused as a poetic liberty of expression, much the same as critics have observed in Ovid, Met. i.:—

"Formas mutatas in nova corpora;"

i.e. corpora mutata in novas formas. So Horace, ii. Sat. 8:—

Hebraism; *bath kol*, the daughter of a voice, for a voice from heaven.—*(N.)* "The rest," a Græcism, and common in Latin, as to the rest. So Virg. Æn. iii. 594, "*Cætera* Graius." "We live law to ourselves;" so Rom ii. 14: "These having not the law, are a law unto themselves."—*(R.)*

673, 674.

"Stood in himself collected; while each part,
Motion, each act won audience, ere the tongue."

This is the reading of Milton's editions, and has been retained in all the best editions since his time; yet the commentators object to the words and their arrangement. Bentley proposes to read,

"Collected *whole*, while each
Motion, each air won audience," &c.

Pearce would retain "act," which he says is explained by Milton himself in 668, to be what an orator puts himself into before he begins to speak; and proposes to read,

——"while each part's
Motion, each act won audience," &c.

Newton, as the words, "in himself collected whole," is a manner of expression not unlike that in Horace, (ii. Sat. vii. 86,) "in seipso totus teres atque rotundus," proposes to read,

——"collected *whole*, while each
Motion, each act won audience," &c.

Greenwood says there is a great beauty and nervousness in having the pause on "collected," and therefore proposes to read,

——"while each part,
Motion, *and* act," &c.

Todd says, "I wish to defend the whole passage, and not to alter a letter of the poet's word. 'Part, motion, act,' are three distinct things. 'Part' here signifies the position or station of the orator, that attention to the 'parts' of the body, which Cicero calls 'oratorius status,' De Orator. lib. i. sect. 59. 'Motion,' the commanding gesture of the speaker, which Cicero calls 'oratorius motus;' and 'act' means the manner or sign, such as the waving of the hand, by which the orator wins attention before he speaks. See 677, and x. 458." I think Todd's view the most correct of all. But without altering a letter of the text, I have proposed the simplest of all emendations, the transposition of a word, which would obviate all cavil, and render the verse more expressive and smooth; thus,—

"Stood in himself collected; while each part—
Each motion—act won audience, ere the tongue."

675. "Sometimes in height began;" *i. e.* at the highest pitch, as Cicero, in the beginning of his first Oration against Catiline, "Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?"—*(Th.)*

685. Gen. iii. 4, "And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die."—*(N.)*

700—702. Thyer well observes that this is a truly satanic species of logic: God cannot hurt ye consistently with his attribute of justice; for to hurt ye, he would be unjust, and then he is no God, and is not to be feared or obeyed; therefore, your fear of death, which supposes him to be unjust, is nonsense; it destroys itself, because God cannot possibly be unjust.

714. "To *put on* gods." 1 Cor. xv. 53, "This incorruptible must *put on* incorruption."—*(N.)*

720. Compare the Cyclops of Euripides, 331:—

Ἡ γη δ' αναγκη, κἀν θελῃ, κἀν μη θελῃ,
Τικτουσα ποιαν, τἀμα ποιαινει βοτα.
Ἀ' γω τινι θυω, πλην εμοι, θεοισι δ' ου.
(Stil.)

771. "Author unsuspect." "Author" here is used in the sense in which *auctor* (Lat.) sometimes is, that of an *announcer*, an *informant*. "Unsuspect," unsuspected.

782. It has been often remarked, that there is nothing within the whole range of poetry at all comparable to this description, and that of ver. 1000 (see note there). How poor is Virgil's description, Æn. iv. of the earth trembling, the heavens flashing, and the nymphs howling on the mountain tops, on the ruin of Dido, compared with them! Æn. iv. 166:—

——"Prima et Tellus et pronuba Juno,
Dant signum: fulsere ignes, et conscius æther,
Connubiis; summoque ululârunt vertice Nymphæ;
Ille primus dies leti, primusque malorum."

792. "And knew not eating death." *i. e.* That they were eating death, by eating the fruit which brought death. It is a Greek mode of expression, often used by the Latins too. Oppian Halieut. ii. 106:—

Ουδ' ενοησαν εον σπευδοντες ολεθρον.—*(R.)*

794. Milton having heretofore described Eve as full of modesty, and conscious of her inferiority to her husband, now, with great judgment, adapts her sentiments to her altered state, and represents her as filled with bold aspirings and indulging in the wildest and even impious imaginations. One of her first

888—890. In order to give full effect to this incomparable description, and conceive Adam's astonishment and horror, there must be several breaks and pauses in these lines when read. Virgil says, (ii. 120)—but how inferior to Milton!

"Obstupuere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor."—(*D., H.*)

908. Like the affectionate words of Admetus to Alcestis, Eurip. Alcest. 277:

Σον γαρ φθιμενης, ουκ ετ' αν ειην.
Εν σοι δ' εσμεν και ζην και μη.—(*T.*)

910. He says paradise would be a wilderness without her.—(*Th.*)

923. I have given the punctuation of the old and best modern editions; but, according to it, the passage is scarcely intelligible. It would seem that "coveting" governs "to eye;" then there is nothing to which the comparative "much more" can refer. By placing a comma after "coveting," or reading, "had it been only coveting," as a parenthesis, the whole would be plain. It was a great peril incurred to dare eye the fruit (even though she only coveted or longed for it, without ever intending to go farther); much greater peril, then, was it to dare *taste* it. The commentators have not noticed this difficulty in their own reading.

928. Adam, as Thyer observes, had just before condemned Eve; but he now exerts all his reason to find excuses for her, and looks favourably towards the result, from the overpowering influence of his love for her. Such a thorough insight had Milton into human nature!

936. *i. e.* Which must end in our being gods. This is a Latinism.

965. Dunster says that the note of interrogation which is found here in all editions, should be removed to the end of 976, so as not to interrupt the turbulent rapidity of her thoughts. Milton often opens his speeches with a long succession of ideas arising rapidly out of the first address, and precluding for a time any thing positive being said about the point intended to be spoken to.

980. "Oblige thee with a fact pernicious." "Oblige" in the sense of *obligare*, not only to *bind*, but *to render obnoxious to guilt or punishment*. So Cicero, Orat. pro Domo: "Cum populum Romanum scelere obligasses." Finib. i. 14: "Sæpe etiam legum judiciorumque pœnis obligantur." Hor. ii. Od. viii. 5:

"Sed tu simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput."—(*N.*)

989. "And fear of death deliver to the winds." To deliver to the winds, was a sort of proverbial classic phrase. Hor. i. Od. xxvi. 1:—

——— "Tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis."—(*N.*)

998. Here may the words be well applied, according to Virgil, Æn. iv. 412:—

"Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis."—(*H.*)

1000. See note on 782. Beattie observes, "Here are two sources of the sublime; the prodigy strikes with horror, the vastness of the idea overwhelms with astonishment. In this place an inferior poet would have introduced an earthquake, thunder and lightning; but Milton, with better judgment, makes the alarm of that deep and awful kind which cannot express itself in any other way than by an inward and universal trembling."

1002. Newton thinks that "muttering thunder" is the absolute case here; but Dunster, I think, more properly conceives that it is—sky lowered, and muttering or grumbling forth thunder, wept, &c.

1010, 1111. "Wings wherewith to scorn the earth." "Spernit humum fugiente penna." Hor. iii. Od. 2.

1019. Since we use the word "savour" in both senses, and apply it to the understanding as well as to the palate. So Cic. de Finib. ii. 8, "Nec enim sequitur, ut cui *cor sapiat*, ei non *sapiat palatum*.—(*N.*)

1023. For "know," read "known."

1029. Milton had in mind the conversation between Paris and Helen in the third Iliad, and especially that between Jupiter and Juno on mount Ida, in the fourteenth Iliad. And, as Pope observes, it is with wonderful judgment and delicacy Milton has used that exceptionable passage of the dalliance, ardour, and enjoyment of Jupiter and Juno. That which seems in Homer an impious fiction, becomes in Milton a moral lesson, since he makes that lascivious rage of the passions the immediate effect of the sin of our first parents.—(*N.*) See note on viii. 513.

1058, 1059. "He covered," *i. e.* shame (here personified as in 1097) covered them; though they were clothed with shame, yet they thereby the more discovered their nakedness (so Samson Agonist. 841, 842). Samson was of the tribe of Dan. "Let mine adversaries be *clothed with shame*; let them cover themselves with their own confusion as with a cloak." Psalm cix. 28.—(*N., Bo.*)

BOOK X.

THE Tenth Book has a greater variety of persons in it than any other in the whole poem. The author, upon the winding up of his action, introduces all those who had any concern in it, and shows, with great beauty, the influence it had upon each of them. It is like the last act of a well-written tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the audience, and represented under those circumstances in which the determination of the action places them. —*(Ad.)* In the first edition the poem ended with this book.

2. The *despiteful act* of Satan was only mentioned in general before; and here the word "*and*" introduces two particulars of it.—*(P.)*

11. "Whatever wiles." Any wiles whatever, a pure Latinism, "quoscunque dolos."

16. "Manifold in sin." Many divines reckon up several sins as included in this one of Adam, such as pride, curiosity, disobedience, &c.—*(R.)*

19. "By this," *i.e.* by this time.

31. "Approved." In the occasional sense of the Latin *probare*, rendered it "approved."

40. See iii. 92.

45. "With lightest *moment* of impulse." See note on vi. 239.

48. "What rests?" what remains? "quid restat?" a Latinism.

56, 57. Taken from John v. 22.—*(H.)*

74. "When time shall be." "Time," like the Latin *tempus*, the fit time or opportunity. See iii. 236.

77. "Derived," *derivatus*, brought on me like a stream.

78. So Shakspeare, Merchant of Venice, act iv. sc. 1:—

> 'And earthly power doth then show likest God's,
> When mercy seasons justice."—*(N.)*

"Illustrate," in the occasional sense of *illustrare*, to show clearly. "Satisfied," from the Latin *satisfacere*, "them fully attoned for." He has previously used "satisfaction" in this sense.

80. "Attendance none shall need." Shall be needful or necessary, the verb being here used in a neuter sense. See iii. 341.—*(N.)*

85, 86. So Shakspeare, All's Well that ends Well, act i. sc. 1:—

> "In his bright *radiance* and *collateral light*
> Must I be comforted, not in his sphere."
> *(Stevens.)*

98, &c. See Gen. iii. 8, 9, &c.

153. Milton, in his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, *dwells* on the propriety of making the wife subject to the husband.—*(T.)*

156. "Person" is here used in the Latin sense of *persona*, or *character*, used in a theatrical sense; hence, occupation. —*(R.)*

157. "In few," *i. e.* in few words. A common classical ellipsis.

157, &c. In this passage Milton, as usual, follows Scripture.

182. Here is a manifest indication that when Milton wrote this passage, he thought Paradise was chiefly regained at the resurrection of Christ.—*(Bent.)*

184, &c. The commentators say this speech refers to the following scriptural passages—Luke x. 18, in ver. 184; to 2 Eph. ii. in calling Satan prince of the air (it being a Jewish idea that the air was ruled by devils); to 2 Colos. xv. in ver. 186; to Psalm lxviii. 18, and Ephes. iv. 8, in the two following verses; and to Rom. xvi. 20 in verse 190.

192, &c. See Gen. iii. 16—19.

210. Read a comma after "death."

214, 215. See Philip. ii. 7; John xiii. 5.—*(H.)*

218, 219. See Gen. iii. 21; Rom. v. 10. Pliny mentions some lesser creatures shedding their skins in the manner of snakes. Though called his family, yet they deserve the epithet of *enemies* by their revolt.—*(N., P.)*

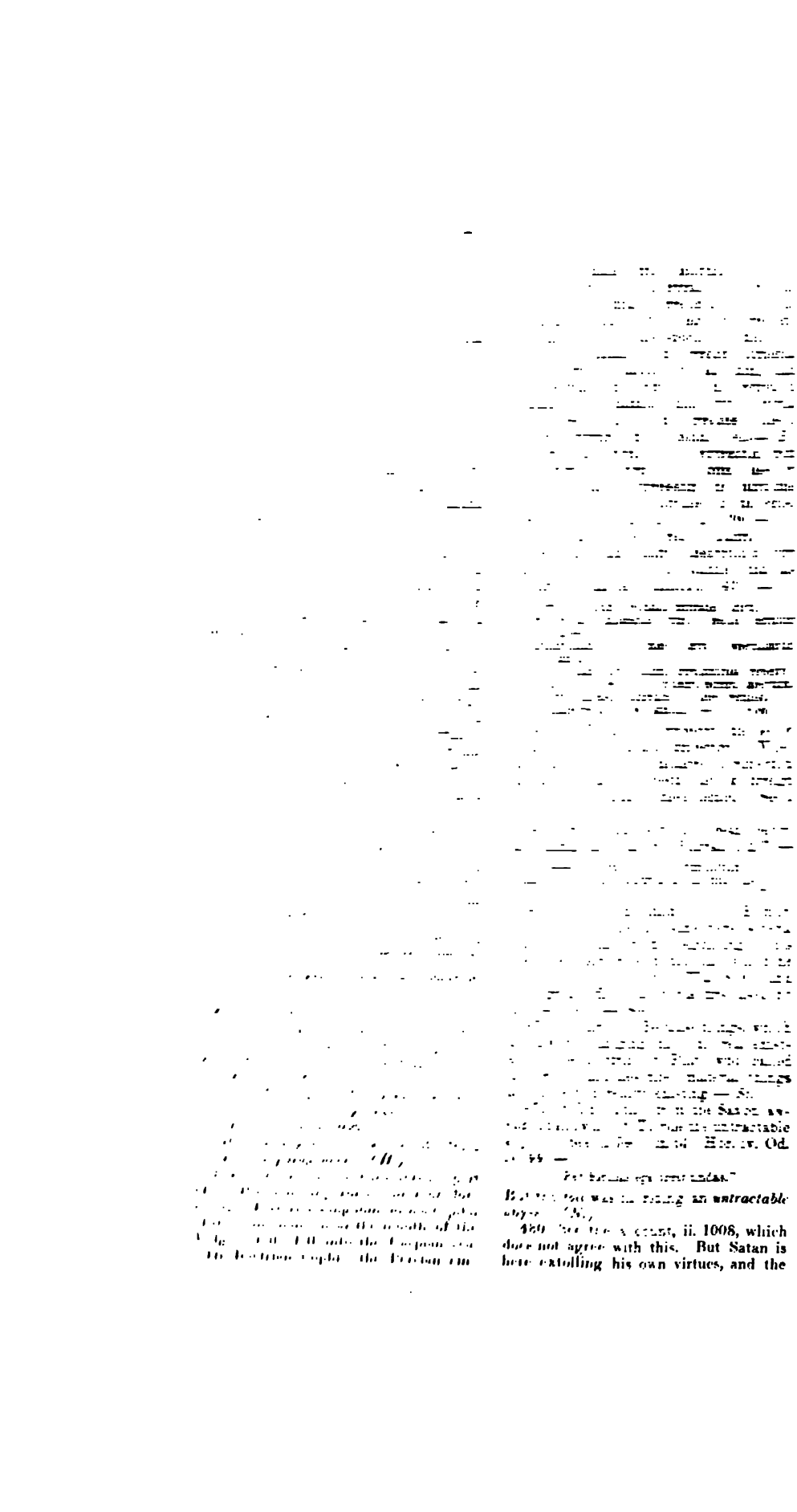
229. "Ere thus was sinned and judged," *i. e.* sinned by man, and judged by God; a Latinism; two verbs being used as impersonals passive.

249. "My shade." In the rare sense of *umbra*, an attendant. Hor. ii. Sat. viii. 22:—

> "Quos Mæcenas adduxerat *umbras*."

But the word has a farther propriety here, as Death seemed a "shadow," (ii. 669,) and was the inseparable companion, as well as offspring, of sin.—*(N.)*

256. "Unagreeable," *i. e. unsuitable.* It is opposite to *agreeable*, which *disagreeable* is not.—*(T.)*



author did not, perhaps, intend that the father of lies should keep to the truth.—*(N.)*

494. "True is." A Latinism, *verum est.*

499. "When is not set." But the time when is not specified.

503. "But up." But to rise up. A Græcism, *ava*, is often thus used alone.

513—515. "Supplanted—reluctant." We have here an instance of a singular beauty and elegance in Milton's language, of which there are numerous examples in other parts of this work, that is, his using words in their strict and literal sense, which are commonly applied in a metaphorical meaning; whereby he gives peculiar force to his expressions, and the literal meaning appears more new and striking than the metaphor itself. "Supplanted" and "reluctant" are both terms of the gymnasium—*supplantare, a planta pedis subtus emota*, is properly to trip up, or upset one, and *reluctans* is struggling against, in wrestling. Milton, in this description, had, no doubt, in view the transformation of Cadmus into a serpent, to which he alluded, ix. 505; though he far exceeds Ovid, as he here represents the transformation of myriads of angels into serpents. The whole passage in Ov. Met. iv. 575 is this:—

"Dixit; et ut serpens in longam tenditur alvum,
In pectusque cadit pronus; commissaque in unum
Paulatim tereti sinuantur acumine crura.
Ille quidem vult plura loqui; sed linqua repente
In partes est fissa duas; nec verba volenti
Sufficiunt; quotiesque aliquos parat edere questus,
Sibilat: hanc illi vocem natura relinquit."

Compare also Dante, Inferno, c. xxv. st. 105, &c.—*(N., D.)* Read a comma after "reluctant."

518. "Forked tongue." "Linguis trisulcis." Virg. Æn. ii.

524, 525. "Hydrus," from ὕδωρ, water, is the water-snake. "Dipsas," from δίψα, thirst, so called because its sting tormented its victims with unquenchable thirst. "Cerastes," from κέρας, horn, the horned serpent.—"Amphisbæna," from αμφις and βαινω, because it went forward either way, having a head at both ends.—"Elops," ελλοψ, from λεπω and οψ, the dumb serpent that gives no notice, by hissing, to avoid him.—*(H., R.)*

527. The drops of blood that fell from the amputated head of the Gorgon Medusa, when borne by Perseus through the air over Africa, were said to have produced serpents. See Ovid, Met. iv. 616, &c.; Lucan, Pharsal. ix. 698; Apol. Rhod. Arg. iv. 1515; and Dante, Inferno, c. xxiv. st. 85.—*(N., St., T.)*

528. "Ophinsa." A small island in the Mediterranean, so called by the Greeks, from *οφις*, a serpent; and by the Latins Colubraria, from *Coluber*, a snake. The inhabitants quitted it for fear of being devoured by serpents.—*(R.)* It is one of the Balearic islands, and is now called Fromentera, from its fertility in corn.

529. "Now *dragon* grown." Lucan, (Pharsal. ix. 698,) in his description of the Lybian or African serpents, mentions the "dragon" as the greatest of them all. In Rev. xii. 9, Satan is called "the great dragon;" and he is well said to be larger than the great "Python," of which monster, see Ov. Met. i. 438.—*(N.)*

546. "Exploding." *Explodens;* the word, in its original, signifying to hiss or shout an actor off the stage (see 508); it being the opposite of *applaud.*

560. The curls in the hair of Megæra, one of the Furies, was said to consist of twisted snakes. Ov. Met. iv. 771.

561. He here alludes to the celebrated *apples of Sodom*, that grow near the lake Asphaltites, (or Dead Sea,) over the ancient Sodom; so called from the quantity of asphaltos found floating on it. These apples, which have been celebrated from the time of Josephus downwards, as being most alluring to the eye, but containing only dust and ashes when tasted, are now found, according to the modern discoveries of those great travellers, Seetzen and Burkhardt, to be a fruit of a reddish yellow colour, about three inches in diameter, which contains a white substance, resembling the finest silk; and, when the fruit is fresh, it yields, when squeezed, a milky juice of a very acrid taste; but when dry, it resembles a fungus in its contents, which are injurious to the eyes, and very ignitable, and commonly used by the Arabians for matches for their firelocks. See Calmet's Dictionary.

569. So Virgil, Georg. ii. 246:—

——— "Et ora
Tristia tentantum torquebit amaro."

This passage of Virgil has been represented as expressing the sense by the sound; but it will be conceded by every judicious scholar, that Milton's line does so more effectively.—"Drugged," a metaphor from the general nauseousness of *drugs.*—*(N., P.)*

571, 572. "Not as man, whom they triumphed, once lapsed." Whom they triumphed over, when once lapsed, *lapsus*, fallen.—"Triumphed" here, and 186, is used in the rare sense of *triumpho* taken actively. Aurel. Vict. de Ver. illust. 61. —"Achæos his prælio fudit; *triumphandos* Mummio tradidit." Lactant. vi. 23, "Hic terram triumphabit."

580—584. "Ophion," according to the Greek etymology, signifies *serpent;* and "Eurynome," *wide ruling;* and to show the similitude, Eve is called "wide encroaching," as expressive of her extravagant notions of ambition, after she tasted the forbidden fruit. Jove is called "Dictæan," from Mount Dicte, in Crete, where he was fabled to have been educated. This story is in Apollonius Rhodius, Argonaut. i. 503. See Newton.

586. *i. e.* Sin was potentially in Paradise before Eve fell.—"Once," *i. e.* at the Fall, actually there; and now bodily there. See Ep. Rom. vi. 6.—*(P.)*

589. This alludes to that passage in Scripture (Rev. vi. 8) so wonderfully poetical and terrifying to the imagination, "And I looked, and behold a pale horse! and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him; and power was given unto them," &c. He has given a fine turn to this poetical thought, by saying that Death had not *yet* commenced his all-conquering career. —*(Ad., Gr.)*

601. "This vast unhidebound corpse." *i. e.* The skin not tight-braced, but hanging loose about him, as a lean famished monster, and capable of containing a great deal more without being distended.—*(N.)*

606. It is certain that Milton had his eye on the passage of Sophocles, Electra, 1499:—

Ιδεθ' οπου προνεμεται
Το δυσεριστον αιμα φυσων Αρης,
Βεβασι δ' αρτι δωματων υποστεγοι
Μεταδρομοι κακων πανουργηματων
Αφυκτοι κυνες.

The dogs of hell is an expression of Apollonius, Argon. iv. 1666:—

——— Θελγε δε κηρας
Θυμοβορους, αιδαο θοας κυνας, αι περι πασαν
Ηερα δινευουσαι επι ζωοισιν αγονται.

Dogs are thus metaphorically used in several parts of Scripture.—*(N., St.)*

640. "Till then the curse on both precedes." *i. e.* The curse pronounced on heaven and earth, implied in the word "*renewed*" (638), precedes, or goes before sin and death, to direct them.—*(R.)* Some commentators, following Bentley, would read *proceeds*, will go on, or continue.

641—645, &c. See Rev. xix. 6; xv. 3; xvi. 7. They first sung to *God* the Father, which is the meaning of *Jah*, in Hallelujah, praise God the Father.—*(P., T.)*

647, &c. "New heaven and earth." The Jewish phrase to express our world. —"To the ages." To the aurea sæcula, the millennium, or "ages of endless date," as xii. 549. See iii. 334; xii. 547.—"Descend," Rev. xxi. 2, the new Jerusalem is mentioned as coming down from heaven.—*(N.)*

656. "The *blanc* moon," From the French *blanc*, white; the *candida* luna of Virgil. See Virg. Georg. i. 335.—*(N.)*

659. If a planet, in one part of the zodiac, be distant from another by a *sixth* part of twelve, *i. e.* by two signs, their aspect is called *sextile;* if by a *fourth*, *square;* if by a *third*, *trine;* and if by *one-half*, *opposite;* which last is said to be of *noxious efficacy*, because the planets so opposed are thought to strive, debilitate, and overcome one another; deemed of evil consequence to those born under or subject to the influence of the distressed star.—*(H.)*

665, &c. It was eternal spring before the fall (iv. 268); and Milton now accounts for the change of seasons after the fall, and mentions the two famous *hypotheses*. Some say it was occasioned by altering the position of the earth, by turning the poles of the earth above twenty degrees aside from the sun's orb; and the poles of the earth are twenty-three degrees and a half from those of the ecliptic.—"Pushed oblique the centric globe." It was erect before, but is *oblique* now; the obliquity of a sphere is the proper astronomical term, when the pole is raised any number of degrees less than ninety. As the globe rested on its *centre*, centric, it required great labour to push it aside; or *centric*, as being the centre of the world, according to the Ptolemaic system. —"*Some say*," again this change was occasioned by altering the course of the sun. The constellation Taurus, with the seven stars in his neck, the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas; and the *Spartan twins*, or Gemini, Castor and Pollux; up to the tropic of Cancer, or Crab; then down, by the signs Leo, Virgo, and Libra, to the tropic of Capricorn, which was as far to the south of the equator as Cancer was to the north of it. This motion of the sun in the ecliptic occasions the variety of seasons. —*(N.)*

679. For "verdant" read *vernant*, from *vernans*.

686, 687. "Estotiland." A tract of country towards Hudson's Bay in the extreme north of America.—"Magellan," the name of a strait that separates the southern point of America from the island of Terra del Fuego.

688. "Thyestean banquet." The phrase was proverbial for a horrid scene, which was the subject of many tragic representations among the Greeks. King Atreus having ascertained that his brother Thyestes had clandestine connexion with his wife, invited him, hypocritically, to dinner; and, having seized his sons, had them slain and served up to their father. It is related, that the sun stopped its course in horror at the event. Compare the Electra of Euripides, 737:—

> Λεγεται (scil. Ζευς)
> Στρεψαι θερμα αελιου
> Χρυσωπον εδραν αλλαξαν—
> Γα δυστυκιᾳ βρωτειῳ
> Θυατας ἑνεκεν δικας.—(*R.*, *T.*)

696. "Norumbega," a province of North America.—"Samoieda," a province in the north-east of Muscovy, upon the frozen ocean.—(*H.*)

697, 698. So Claudian, De Rapt. Proserp. i. 69:—

> —— "Ceu turbine rauco
> Cum gravis armatur Boreas, glacieque nivali."
> (*R.*)

"Stormy gust and flaw." "*Flaw*" is a stronger word here than "*gust*," from the Greek φλαω, to break. So Shakspeare, Ven. and Adon.:—

> "Like a red morn that ever yet betokened
> *Gust* and foul *flaws* to herdsmen and to herds."

"Boreas," the north wind; "Cæcias," the north-west; "Argestes," the north-east; "Thracias," blowing from Thrace, north of Greece; "Notus," the south; "Afer," the south-west, from Africa.—"Levant" and "Ponent," the eastern and western, the one blowing from the rising, the other from the setting sun; "Sirocco," blowing from Syria; "Libecchio," from Lybia; all four being Italian terms. "Serra liona," mountains to the south-west of Africa, so called from the storms roaring there like lions.—(*H.*, *R.*) Though in this account of the winds there is some ostentation of learning, yet the learned reader must admit that there is nothing in the classics at all comparable to it. Among many other passages, the classical reader cannot fail to recollect the following, Virg. Æn. i. 85:—

> "Una eurusque notusque ruunt creberque procellis
> Africus, et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus."

711. "To graze the herb all leaving." This passage has been cavilled at. But Newton very properly replies that it is stated in Genesis i. 30, "And to every *beast* of the earth, and to every *fowl* of the air, I have given every green *herb for meat*;" and in regard to *fish*, Milton expressly says (vii. 404) that they "graze the sea-weed, their pasture.—"*All*" here does not mean all and every one in particular, but only all in general. All the three kinds, though not all *of* the three kinds devour each other.

736—741. The commentators censure these lines as not in keeping with the excellencies of this speech. Milton (ver. 740, 741) makes Adam speak according to the notions of the peripatetics, which were in vogue in his day, though now exploded, that elementary bodies do not gravitate in their natural places; not air in air, not water in water. Water really does weigh in water as much as it does out of it.—(*N.*, *St.*) Expunge the stop after "light," 740.

758. "Thou didst," &c. The change of *persons*, sometimes speaking of himself in the first person, and sometimes to himself in the second, is very remarkable in this speech; as well as the change of passions. So he sometimes speaks *of* God, and sometimes *to* God.—(*N.*) This change has been used by the best classic writers.

761. This and ver. 743 are taken from Isaiah xlv. 9, 10.—(*T.*)

773. "Fixed on this day." But it may be questioned whether it was now *this day*; for the night of this day is mentioned before in ver. 342, and the sun's rising is taken notice of in ver. 329.—(*N.*) He uses a poetic license.

778. There are some resemblances in this pathetic speech to the words of Job, ch. iii.—(*T.*)

783. "Lest all I cannot die." A classical phrase—"Non omnis moriar," Hor. iii. Od. xxx. 6. "Non toti morimur," Senec. Troad. *die altogether.*—(*T.*)

797. Expunge the comma after "end."

805. "Beyond dust." In reference to that part of the sentence, 208, "For dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." So that Bentley's proposed substitution of *just* for *dust* is quite idle.—(*P.*)

806. An allusion to an axiom of the schoolmen, "omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas." All

causes or agents act in proportion to the *reception*, or *capacity* of the subject matter, and not to the extent of their own power.—*(N.)*

813, 814. The thought is as fine as it is natural. Let the sinner invent ever so many arguments for the annihilation of the soul, yet the fear of everlasting punishment will come thundering back upon him.—*(N.)*

828. "All disputes." All disputations and arguments with himself.

840. Adam here in his agony of mind aggravates his misery, and concludes it to be worse than that even of the fallen angels, or all future men, who had only their own misery to bear.—"Futúre." The emphasis is here laid as in the Latin *futúrum*. He also compares himself to Satan, as being the first and chief transgressor.—*(N.)*

850, 851. Compare Homer Il. xviii. 26.

854. Sophocles, Philoct. 793 :—

Ω θανατε, θανατε, πως αει καλουμενος
Ουτω κατ' ημαρ ου δυνῃ μολειν ποτε.—*(N.)*

859. The slowness of retributive justice is not only a common poetic idea, but is become proverbial.

861. Alluding to part of Adam's hymn, v. 202, &c. So Virg. Ecl. i. 5 :—

"Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida sylvas."
—*(D.)*

872. "That too heavenly form *pretended* to hellish falsehood." "Pretended" is used in the original sense of the Latin *prætentus*, held or placed before, like a fence. So Virg. Georg. i. 270, "Segeti *prætendere* sepem." Æn. vi. 60, "Prætentaque syrtibus arva."—*(P.)*

886. "More to the part sinister," or the *left* part, or side, from which the rib is supposed to have been taken. Hence it is stated the woman is placed, during the marriage-service, on the left of the man.—*(Bo.)*

887. Dr. Newton observes, that some writers were of opinion, that Adam had *thirteen* ribs on one side, one more than his *just number;* and that from this *supernumerary* rib God formed Eve, to which opinion Milton here alludes.

888. So Hippolytus expostulates with Jupiter for not creating man without women, Eurip. Hippol. 616 :—

Ω Ζευ, τι δη, κιβδηλον ανθρωποις κακον,
Γυναικας εις φως ηλιον κατψκισας ;
Ει γαρ βροτειον ηθελες σπειραι γενος,
Θνκ εκ γυναικων χρην παρασχεσθαι τοδε.

Jason talks in the same strain in the Medea, 573, &c.: and such sentiments, perhaps, procured for Euripides the name of "*woman hater.*" So Ariosto, Orl. Furios. c. 27, st. 120.—*(N.)*

910, &c. It is stated in Milton's Life that this is a picture of his wife, begging forgiveness for deserting and offending him. See 937.

914. See the Philoctetes of Sophocles where Philoctetes earnestly implores Neoptolemus not to leave him in the island :—

—— Μη λιπῃς ουτω μονον
Ερημον εν κακοισι τοισδ' οιοις ὁρας—
Πεισθητι· προσπιτνω σε γονασι, καιπερ ων
Ακρατωρ ὁ τλημων χωλος· αλλα μη μ' αφῃς
Ερημον ουτω χωρις ανθρωπων στιβου.—*(St.)*

921. Such is the pathetic language of Tecmessa to Ajax, Sophocl. Ajax, 520:—

Τις δητ' εμοι γενοιτ' αν αντι σου πατρις,
Τις πλουτος ; εν σοι πας εγωγε σωζομαι
Αλλ' ισχε κρμου μνηστιν.—*(T.)*

936. See note on iii. 236.

972. In some good editions there is only a comma after "acceptance."

978. "As in our evils." Considering the extent of our evils; an elegant Latin use of the word *as*. Cic. Ep. Fam. iv. 9, "*Ut in tali re*, etiam fortuna laudatur;" xii. 2: "Nonnihil *ut in tantis malis*, est profectum."—*(R.)*

1008, 1009. Virgil, Æn. iv. 644 :—

—— "Maculisque trementes
Interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura."
(H.)

1024. "Forestalled." This word was formerly used, as here, in the sense of *hindered, prevented*. So Comus, 285.—*(Wart.)*

1066. "Locks of trees," Newton says, is a Latinism; "arboribusque comæ," Hor. iv. Od. vii. 2; but Callender says it is a Homeric figure, δρυς ὑψικομους, Il. xxiii. 118.

1069. "This diurnal star leave cold the night." The star of day, as in Lycidas: "So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed." So that this was spoken as if it was now day, whereas it was night before, 844.—*(N.)* There is here an allusion, perhaps, to Homer, Il. viii. 485 :—

Εν δ' επεσ' ωκεανῳ λαμπρον φαος ηελιοιο
'Ελκον νυκτα μελαιναν επι ζειδωρον αρουραν.
(Stil.)

1071, 1072. "Sere." Dry, or withered, as in Lycidas, "with ivy never sere." This description is according to Virgil's Æn. i. 175 :—

"Suscepitque ignem foliis, atque arida circum
Nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in fomite flammam."

"Or by collision," &c. Milton here plainly alludes to Lucretius's account of the origin of fire, v. 1091.—*(H.)*

1075. "Tine." From the Saxon *tynan*, to light, to kindle, whence *tinder*.—*(T.)*

1090. So Virg. Æn. xi. 191, "Spargitur et tellus lachrymis."—"Frequenting," in the occasional sense of *frequentans*, filling.

1104. "Humiliation meek." These seven last verses being a repetition of the former (the mood and tense being changed) is an imitation of Homer and Virgil. This repetition has the air of simplicity and grandeur.—*(Bent.)* Bentley thinks "meek humiliation" is tautology, and proposes to read *meet*. But Pearce says that "humiliation" here is not *humility*; it is the *act of humbling* themselves before God. We find "meek submission," xii. 597.

BOOK XI.

1. "Stood praying." As ver. 150, and x. 1099, it is said that they *kneeled*, and *fell prostrate*; "stood," here, and 14, does not refer to *posture*, or attitude, but the *continuance* of an act; or fixed *attention*. See ii. 55, 56, note; viii. 3. *Stetit* in Latin, and εστηκε, in Greek, are often so used. —*(P., Gr.)*

3. "Prevenient." *Præveniens*, anticipating, preceding; the original meaning of *prevent*, from *prævenire, to go before*.

4. "The stony from their hearts." Ezek. xi. 19, "I will *take the stony* heart out of them, and give them *an heart of flesh*."—*(T.)*

5, 6. That sighs inexpressible burst forth, which God's holy Spirit of supplication and intercession inspired them with, and wafted up to heaven. See St. Paul, Rom. viii. 26.—*(H.)*

8. "Yet." This *yet* refers back to the first line; the intermediate lines to be taken parenthetically.

12. "Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha." Ov. Met. i. 318, &c. describes Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha, in order to restore mankind after the deluge, as praying at the shrine of Themis, the goddess of justice. The poet could not have thought of a more apt similitude to illustrate his subject. Though Milton has often alluded to heathen mythology, yet he commonly applies it by way of similitude, and to suit the taste of educated readers; and his partiality for Ovid may result from the fact of Ovid's subjects having, many of them, such as the creation, the deluge, the foreshowing of the destruction of the world by fire, &c. reference to Scripture history. *(N., D.)*

15, 16. See Tasso, Gier. Lib. iii. 72. It is a familiar expression with the ancient poets, to say of such requests as are not granted, that they are dispersed by the winds. See Æn. xi. 794, &c. "By *envious* winds," as in Ov. Met. x. 642:—

"Detulit *aura* preces ad me non *invida* blandas."
(N.)

"Vagabond and frustrate." *Vagabundus et frustratus* (Lat.), wandering or tossed about, and disappointed or defeated. See the beautiful allegory and personification of Λιται, suppliant prayers, in Homer, Il. ix. 498, where they are called the daughters of almighty Jove. But Milton has left Homer, Ariosto, Tasso, and all other poets who have attempted such an allegorical description, far behind him.

17. "Dimensionless." The reason why the gates of heaven, which (vii. 205) are represented as "on golden hinges moving, and opening wide," &c. do not here open is, that these prayers were *dimensionless*, of a spiritual nature, without dimension, or corporeal proportion. "Clad with incense," Psalm cxli. 2: "Let my prayer be set before thee as incense." —*(R., N., T.)*

25. Christ, who is repeatedly called our High Priest in the Epistle to the Hebrews, here also sustains that part assigned by St. John to the angel, Rev. viii. 3, 4, of offering up, together with incense, the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne of God.—"Savour;" these prayers are called *odours*, Rev. v. 8.—*(Ad., T.)*

31. "Sighs though mute." *Mute sighs*, is an expression of Statius, in a description of extreme affliction. Theb. xi. 604:—

"Tandem *muta* furens *genitor suspiria* solvit."
(D.)

53, 54. "Advocate and propitiation." The words of St. John, 1 Ep. ii. 1, 2.

58. The pure offering is frequently called "an offering of a sweet savour unto the Lord." See Lev. ii. 2.—*Heyl.)*

59, 60. See John xvi. 21, 22.—*H.)*

61, 62. The land is defiled: therefore I am visiting the iniquity upon it: and the land hath vomited out her inhabitants." Lev. xviii. 25.—*N.* Pearce and Newton say there should be a comma after "mixture," for gross refers to sin, not to substance, the sense being, Adam is now gross, he must therefore go to air as gross, for in Paradise the air knows no gross mixture. I acquiesce in this opinion.

62—65. The meaning is: and after this life passed in a state of probation, &c. death resigns, surrenders him up to second life, &c. It is a classical mode of expression. So iv. 367. "All these delights will vanish, and deliver ye to woe."

74. "In Oreb," when the law was given there to Moses, Exod. xx. 18.—"Perhaps" here, does not express any doubt as to the *events* ushered in by sound of trumpet, but as to the *identity* of the trumpet which will sound at general doom, 1 Thess. iv. 16.—(*N.*, *D.*)

82. "Took their seats." Bentley objects to these words, because Milton never represents angels sitting round the throne of God, and therefore reads, "took their *stands*." But, though the angels are generally represented as either standing, or falling down before the throne of God, they are so employed in acts of praise and adoration; but here they are introduced in another character—called to *synod*, like a grand council, to hear the sentence pronounced on man, and, therefore, the poet very properly says they took their seats. Besides, there is scriptural authority for it: in Rev. iv. 4, and xi. 16, the four-and-twenty elders are described as "*sitting on seats* round about the throne" of God; and Christ tells his apostles that they "shall *sit* on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," Matt. xix. 28. —(*P.*, *Gr.*)

78. See note on iii. 353.

84. This whole speech is founded on Gen. iii. 22, &c.—(*N.*)

86. "That defended fruit." "Defend," (*defendo*, Lat.) is used here in its primary sense, to mean, *forbid*, *keep off*. See xii. 206.

91, 92. "Longer than they move," &c. The meaning of this abstruse passage, which the commentators have not explained, I take to be this:—I know how changeable is his heart, (after the emotions of grief, &c. which I have implanted in him, cease to operate on him) when left to himself.

99. Milton has, with great judgment, selected Michael to this office. It would not have been so proper for Raphael. "the *sociable* spirit," whose intercourse with Adam was of a friendly kind; nor for Gabriel, who was the guardian angel of Paradise, and unknown to whom Satan entered, and who was besides the minister of *mercy*, according to the Jewish rabbis, and was the angel particularly employed in conveying *glad* tidings to mankind, relative to the great events of the gospel—such as in informing Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks—in notifying the conception of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our Saviour to his Virgin Mother; whereas Michael had no intercourse with Paradise or man, and was besides, according to the Jewish rabbis, the minister of *severity*. Furthermore, though chief of all the archangels, he has yet only appeared in the battle of the angels, in which Gabriel and Raphael also took a distinguished part; therefore it was right that he should have his due share in the arrangement of other parts of the poem. At the same time, as Raphael had related to Adam all events, previous to his existence, connected with the grand argument of the poem; so Michael, the chief celestial minister, is selected partly to foreshow by vision, and partly to relate by narration, the great events consequent on the fall of man to the end of the world, and the final destruction of Satan's power.—(*N.*, *D.*)

102. "In behalf of man." On account of man, not out of good will to him, but out of a desire to keep him in a lost state; hominis *causa*, *non gratia*.—(*P.*)

128. "Four faces each." Ezekiel x. 12, 14, says, "and their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about—every one had four faces." The poet expresses all this by a delightful metaphor, "all their shapes spangled with eyes;" and by an allusion to Janus, a king of Italy, who, from his great wisdom, looking on things past and future, was represented with a double face (a fair illustration to give the idea of four faces); and then adds by way of comparison, the story of Argus with his hundred wakeful eyes, slain by Mercury however, to show that their eyes were not sleeping eyes, as

[illegible] breathe the impure "air" of earth, because they were accustomed to the [illegible] "fruits" of Paradise. The reader must then observe that the remainder of [illegible] with which "fruits" would [illegible] connected, is omitted, as the [illegible] interrupts her. These unfinished [illegible] are often used with great effect [illegible].

2. "For such of shape," &c. *i.e.* Which [illegible] the least one of the order of [illegible] highest of them, for even the least seem to have such [illegible]. The structure is very figurative [illegible].

4. With the exception of thy [illegible] manner in delivering this [illegible] which, if harshly executed, would [illegible] us, your tidings bring the [illegible] affliction our nature can bear, *i.e.* our expulsion from this place. You have [illegible] all us, but (if we except [illegible] *præter*, except) [illegible] announced to us the greatest [illegible], our loss of Para- [illegible]. This I conceive to be the meaning [illegible] obscure passage, which the com- [illegible] not noticed. This pas- [illegible] contradict verses 315, 316, [illegible] speaks in general; there he [illegible] particular.

[illegible] Hor. i. Od. 26: "*prece* qua [illegible] Sic Luke xviii. 5—7.—

[illegible] Newton quotes a passage [illegible] "Prelatical Episcopacy." [illegible] Panegyric on Trajan. 15, [illegible] Burgess, Bishop of Salis- [illegible] Essay on the Study [illegible] an analogous pas- [illegible] Legib. b. ii. c. 2; [illegible] the two first chap- [illegible] book of Cicero *de Finib.* [illegible] Milton's mind em- [illegible] learning of the classics, [illegible] the essence of many pas- [illegible].

[illegible] 323. Graves and altars, tombs, pillars, and heaps of stones, were the representative symbols of past transactions, and memorials to instruct posterity in the primitive ages before the invention of writing. We find from various parts of Genesis that the patriarchs raised altars, when God had appeared to them, xi. 7; xxv. 25. To this custom Milton seems to allude.—(*Burgess.*)

325, 326. "In memory or monument to ages." "Memory" here means a memorial to himself for marks, by which he might remember the places of God's ap-

[illegible] *T.*

[illegible] Alcestis, 247:—

[illegible] *T.*

284, 285. These words, if interpreted [illegible] with each other, will involve [illegible], as if Adam and Eve could

pearance. But because his sons, who had not seen God, could not be said to remember him, he changes his expression and says, "or *in monument to ages*," to warn and instruct them that God had appeared to him there.—(*P.*) The combination of "memory" and "monument" occurs in Spenser's Virgil's Gnat, st. 74:—

"And many lost, of whom no monument
Remains, nor memory is to be shown."—(*T.*)

332. Stat. Theb. xii. 817:—

"Sed *longe* sequere, et *vestigia* semper *adora*."

He alludes to Exod. xxxiii. 22.—(*N.*)

333. Milton's judgment in the contrast between Eve's and Adam's sorrow has been much admired. Her chief regret is that she must leave Paradise and all its beauties. His chief regret, which is of a more lofty and dignified character, is that he is to be banished from a place where he enjoyed the manifestation of God's presence.—(See *Ad., N.*)

337. The following remarkable and apposite passage from Lucan, ix. 578, was in Milton's eye,—

"Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et cœlum, et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?
Jupiter est quodcunque vides."

See Acts xvii. 28; Psalm cxxxix.; Jerem. xxiii. 24. See a magnificent amplification of this in Pope's Essay on Man, i. 259.—(*N., T.*)

356. In reference to the angel's conference with Daniel. Dan. x. 14.—(*T.*)

367. As Eve (viii. 40,) is represented as modestly retiring because the discourse of Raphael and Adam was taking an abstruse turn, so here she is lulled asleep, as her mind may not be able to comprehend much of the narration, and her sensibility not able to bear much of the shocking scenes exhibited.—(*Th.*)

374. Æn. v. 710:—

"Quicquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est."—(*H.*)

377. "In the visions of God." A Scripture expression. See Ezekiel viii. 3, &c., where there is a particular description of the prophet's entrance into the visions shown him; as afterwards of his return out of the trance.—(*D.*)

383. "Second Adam"—Christ, see Mat. iv. 8. This scene is part of the subject of Paradise Regained, iii. 250, &c. Addison has remarked how much grander is this vision of the whole species, than Æneas's vision of his descendants. Æn. vi.

387—411. Volumes could be written on this section of geography; and though these countries have undergone great revolutions since Milton's time (the empire of the "Great Mogul," the most wealthy and famous in all Asia, and all India, being now almost a tributary province of the British empire), yet to understand the author the following note of Newton will be sufficient.—The survey commences with the northern parts of Asia; (the word "destined" being applicable to *all* the cities which as yet were not in being, but only designed to be.) "Cambalu," the principal city of Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient seat of the Kans, or rulers. "Samarcand," the chief city of Zagathaian Tartary, near the river Oxus, the birthplace, and at one time the royal residence of the Great Temir, Timour, or Tamerlane. Thence it proceeds to the eastern parts of Asia, to Paquin, or Pekin, the royal city of China, the country of the ancient Sinæ mentioned by Ptolemy. Thence to the southern parts, to "Agra" and "Lahor," two great cities in the empire of "the Great Mogul," down to the "golden Chersonese;" Malacca, the most southern promontory of the East Indies; India, remarkable for its valuable productions. Thence to Persia, of which "Ecbatan," or Ecbatana, was the ancient capital, and Hispahan is the modern. Thence it proceeds to "Mosco," the royal residence of the Russian Czar, or emperor; and to Constantinople, (the ancient "Bizance," or Byzantium,) the capital of the grand Sultan, emperor of the Turks, who originally came from Turchestan, a province of Tartary. Milton reckons these to Asia, as they are adjoining, and a great part of their territories lie in Asia; besides in his time they were considered Asiatic, and, as it were, detached from civilised Europe. After this Africa is surveyed:—first the empire of "Negus," the Upper Æthiopia, or land of the Abyssinians, subject to one sovereign, styled in their own language, *negus*, or king; "Ercoco," or Erquico, on the Red Sea, the north-eastern boundary of the Abyssinian empire; "and the less maritime kings," the lesser kingdoms on the sea coast, all near the line in Zanguebar, a great region of the Lower Æthiopia on the Eastern or Indian sea: "and Sofala, thought Ophir," another city and kingdom on the same sea, mistaken by Purchas and others for "Ophir," whence Solomon brought gold; "Congo," a realm in the Lower Æthiopia on the *western* shore. "Niger;" this

river divides Negroland into two parts—"Mount Atlas," the most western part of Africa; "the kingdoms of Almansor," namely, Fez, Sus, Morocco, Algiers, and Tremisen, all in Barbary. After barely glancing at Europe, as it was well known, the poet mentions the most important empires in America. ("In *spirit*, perhaps, he also saw;" he could not see it otherwise, as it was on the opposite side of the globe.) "Rich Mexico," the seat of Montezeume, the last emperor, subdued by the Spanish general Cortes; "Cusco," the capital of "Peru," the richer seat of "Atabalipa," its last emperor, subdued by the Spanish general Pizarro; "yet unspoiled Guiana," another country of South America, not then invaded and spoiled, *whose great city*, Manhoa, the Spaniards, "Geryon's sons," (Geryon, an ancient king of Spain, and in classic authors synonymous with *powerful robber*) called "El Dorado," or the golden city, on account of its riches and extent. The poet having thus represented the angel as showing Adam the chief places of the earth, makes him show him "nobler sights," *i. e.* the principal *actions* of men to the consummation of all things. The angel "removed the film from Adam's eyes," as Minerva removed the mist from Diomede's, (Il. v. 127,) and Venus from Æneas's, (Æn. ii. 604); and also as does the same angel from those of Godfrey (Gier. Lib. xviii. 93). Tasso has, says Thyer, employed (c. xv.) thirty or forty stanzas in a digressive description of this sort.

414. "Rue" was used in exorcisms, and is called by Shakspeare "herb of grace;" "euphrasy," or *eye-bright*, so named from its healing virtue.—(*H.*, *N.*)

420. Newton says this is copied from Rev. i. 17, or from Dan. x. 8.

427. "Nor sinned thy sin." This mode of expression is scriptural, Greek, and Latin. "Ye have *sinned* a great *sin*," Exod. xxxii. 30; ηπαλησε απειλην, *servit servitutem*, when a substantive of a kindred nature is used as the accusative after a verb generally neuter.—(*N.*)

429—449. This scene represents the murder of Abel, a shepherd, by his brother Cain, an agriculturist. See Gen. iv. 2, &c. "Tilth," tilled. "Sord," the old word for *sward*, turf. The poet makes them offer both sacrifices on the same altar, for the word *brought* in Scripture, which he retains, is understood of their bringing their offerings to the same place of worship. This altar he makes of green turf, as the first altars are represented to be, and describes the sacrifice somewhat in the manner of Homer. Cain makes no selection in the choice of the things offered; but Abel does; and in this some scriptural commentators say the guilt of Cain mainly consisted, which rendered his offering not acceptable, as being insincere or careless. The "midriff," or diaphragm, is a nervous muscle separating the breast from the belly.—(See *N.*) In the first editions the word was written "sord," but Johnson says this is a corruption of "sward," turf.

457. "Acceptance," *i. e.* by fire coming from heaven to consume his offering, as Milton said before, and as the best Hebrew and Christian commentators understand the passage.—(*N.*)

482. "All feverous kinds." Febrium cohors.—(*Hor.*, *T.*)

485—487. These lines were introduced in the second edition, and Bentley would reject them. He objects to "phrensy, melancholy, and lunacy" being made *shapes of death*, as they are often attended with long life; but Pearce replies, that they are attended with *misery*, and so explain line 476. "Marasmus," μαρασμος, consumption accompanied by fever gradually wasting the body. "Atrophy," ατροφια, a disease in which food has no power to sustain the body.

489. This is entirely in the picturesque manner of Spenser, and seems particularly to allude to that beautiful passage, (Fairy Queen, II. vii. 21—24), when describing the passage to "Pluto's grisly reign," he represents Pain, Strife, Revenge, &c. as so many persons assembled; and over them sat Horrour soaring with grim hue, and beating his iron wings, &c.—(*Th.*)

494. See Tibull. Eleg. I. i. 63, where there is the combination of "heart of rock" and "dry eyed."—(*D.*)

496, 497. Whalley and Dunster have remarked that Milton's mind must have been impressed with the following passages from Shakspeare's Macbeth,

> "And thou oppos'd be *not of woman born*—
> For it hath cow'd my *better part of man*."

Hen. V.—

> "But all my mother came unto my eyes
> And *gave me up to tears*."

499. "And" couples "renewed" here to "wept" before.—(*P.*)

502. See Ædip. Colon. 1288:—

> Μη φῦναι τον ἁπαντα νι-
> κα λογον, το δ' επει φατῆ
> Βηναι κειθεν ὁθεν περ ηκει
> Πολυ δευτερον, ως ταχιστα.—(*Stil.*)

518. "His image." The image of Appetite, the brutish vice, which is here personified as a carnal demon.—*(N.)*

519. "Inductive." Leading to, from *induco*.

524. See Rom. i. 21, 24.—*(Gil.)*

531. "Not too much." *Ne quid nimis*; an old maxim of philosophy.

538. How much more dignified and poetic is this summary than the shocking details of the miseries of old age which Juvenal gives, Sat. x.

544. "Damp" here means depression of spirits, dejection.

550. Job xiv. 14.—*(Gil.)*

553. "What thou livest." A Latinism, *quod vivis*, whatever life you live. "Nor love thy life, nor hate." Martial, x.—

"Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes."—*(N.)*

554. "Permit to heaven." Permitte Divis. Hor. i. Od. ix.—*(N.)*

563. A "fugue" is in music the correspondency of parts, answering one another in the same notes either above or below, therefore elegantly styled *resonant*, as sounding the same notes over again. —*(H.)*

565—568. From Lucretius, v. 1240:—

"Quod superest, æs atque aurum, ferrumque repertum est,
Et simul argenti pondus, plumbique, potestas
Ignis ubi ingentes sylvas ardore cremârat
Montibus in magnis."

Potestas ignis expresses the consuming power of fire. So "potentia solis." Virg. —*(Jortin.)* "Gliding hot to some cave's mouth," Boiling up from the recesses of the earth to the mouth of some cave, where the smith first found it; the heat of the burned wood above working into the earth, and there melting the ore which boiled up.

574—580. The descendants of Cain are first mentioned; after these, the descendants of the younger brother Seth, who were righteous men, and therefore of a *different sort*; these came from the hills adjacent to Paradise, where their residence was, to the plain where the descendants of Cain dwelt, (Cain having been banished far off into the low country,) and there became corrupted by their intercourse with the female descendants of Cain. See Gen. iv. 20, &c. Though this account of the Sethites be in general conformable to Scripture, yet these particulars Milton seems to have taken from the oriental writers, particularly the annals of Eutychius. Josephus, Antiq. b. i. c. 2, says they were addicted to the study of natural philosophy, especially of astronomy.—*(N.)*

582. "A bevy." A company; a word often used by the old English poets.

590, &c. The description of the shield of Achilles is one of the finest and most admired pieces of poetry in the whole Iliad; and Milton has plainly shown his admiration and affection for it by introducing in this visionary part of his work so many analogous scenes and images; but they exceed the originals, and receive this additional beauty, that they are most of them made representations of real histories and matters of fact. Thus, this passage, and ver. 583 and 584—

——— "To the harp they sung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on;"

is a beautiful copy of Homer, Il. xviii. 491:—

—— Εν τῃ μεν ῥα γαμοι τ' εσαν, ειλαπιναι τε,
Νυμφας δ' εκ θαλαμων, δαϊδων ὑπο λαμπομεναων,
Ηγινεον ανα αστυ· πολυς δ' ὑμεναιος ορωρει,
Κουροι δ' ορχηστηρες εδινεον, εν δ' ara τοισιν
Αυλοι φορμιγγες τε βοην εχον.

(See also Hesiod, Scut. Hercul. 272.—*Stil.)* So ver. 429—431 and 556—558, before, are taken from Homer, ver. 550, &c.:—

Εν δ' ετιθει τεμενος βαθυ λῃϊον· ενθα δ' εριθοι
Ἠμων, οξειας δρεπανας εν χερσιν εχοντες·
Δραγματα δ' αλλα μετ' ογμον επητριμα πιπτον
eραξε,
Αλλα δ' αμαλλοδετηρες εν ελλεδανοισι δευντο.

And ver. 587, &c.:—

Εν δε νομον ποιησε περικλυτος Αμφιγυηεις
Εν καλῃ βησσῃ μεγαν οιων αργεννaων,
Σταθμους τε, κλισιας τε, κατηρεφεας ἰδε σηκους.

In like manner, the driving away of the sheep and oxen from pasture, and the battle that ensues thereupon (ver. 646, &c.), may be compared with the following passage in Homer, ver. 527, &c.:—

Οἱ μεν τα προϊδοντε επεδραμον, ωκα δ' επειτα
Τημνοντ' αμφι βοων αγελας και πωεα καλα
Αργεννων οιων· κτεινον δ' επι μηλοβοτηρας.
Οἱ δ' ως ουν επυθοντο πολυν κελαδον αμφι βουσιν,
Ιραων προπαροιθε καθημενοι, αυτικ' εφ ἱππων
Βαντες αερσιποδων μετεκιαθον· αιφα δ' ἱκοντο.
Στησαμενοι δ' εμαχοντο μαχην πυταμοιο παρ οχθας.
Βαλλον δ' αλληλους χαλκηρεσιν εγχεισι.

The representation of the city besieged, in Milton, ver. 655, &c. is a great improvement on that in Homer, ver. 509, &c.:—

Τηνδ' ἑτερην πολιν αμφι δυο στρατοι εἱατο λαων
Τευχεσι λαμπομενοι.

So the council, in Milton, ver. 660, &c is much more elaborately described, and

appears more important than that in Homer, ver. 503, &c.:—

Κηρυκες δ' αρα λαον αγειρον, οι δε γερουτες
Εισαν επι ξεστησι λιθοισι, ιαρα επι κηλα.
Σκηπτρα δε κηρυκων εν χερσ' εχον περκοσιοιιν·
Τοισιν επειτ' ιθυνον, αμοιβηδις δ' εδικαζον.
(See *N.*)

614. Bentley, in place of "for" would read *ev'n*. Pearce thinks "for" introduces a proof of their acknowledging none of their Maker's gifts, and that the construction of 616 is "yet *were* empty," &c. Newton says "the construction is '*thou saw'st that fair female troop that seemed*,' &c. which is a sufficient proof of the posterity of Cain begetting a beauteous offspring." This explanation is adopted by Todd: but I cannot see its propriety. Does it mean that they would beget a beauteous offspring, *because* he *saw* them; or *because* he saw them to be *fair?* (He does not explain the force or application of "*for*"); either sense is not satisfactory. According to the explanation of Pearce, we must take the preceding line parenthetically. In my opinion this is a specimen of Greek construction, where the subject of a clause is used elliptically, and is governed by a preposition understood, κατα; thus here, "for *as to* that fair female troop, *whom* thou saw'st, that seemed of goddesses so fair (in the style of goddesses)—to these," &c. Sometimes, in Greek, the nominative is used without its verb, the structure of the sentence being changed, and the next clause referring to it and explaining it. Sometimes the accusative, in this way; however the peculiarity here and elsewhere in English poetry, can be accommodated to either Greek mode. Of this there is a striking example, 694, "He, whom thou beheld'st—him the Most High did receive."

620. "Troll the tongue." Todd thinks the word "troll," here, is used in a satirical sense, applicable to the voluble or affected tongue of these fair atheists. See note on iii. 463.

626. In allusion to the deluge.

638. Warburton observes, that "one cannot perceive the pertinence of this, without supposing that it hinted at the circumstances of the land army, at the time Cromwell and the royalists were so hotly engaged." Every reader must perceive that these descriptions of the military preparation, of the scenery, of the encounter, of the siege, and of the council, are immeasurably superior to those of Homer.

642. "Emprise." An old word, the same as *enterprise*.

660. "Sceptered heralds." Σκηπτουχοι κηρυκες. Hom.

661. "To council in the city gates." For there assemblies were anciently held, and judges used to sit. Gen. xxxiv. 20; Deut. xvi. 18; xxi. 19; Zech. viii. 16.—*(N.)*

665. Enoch, said to be *of the middle age*, because he was translated to heaven, when he was but 365 years old; a middle age at that time (Gen. v. 23). He remonstrated against the wickedness of mankind, and denounced the heavy judgment of God against them, Jude 14. See ver. 704.—*(R., N.)* "Who of themselves abhor to join," *i. e.* the good with the good; the bad with the bad.

687. As there are two interpretations of the word "giants," (Gen. vi. 4,) some conceiving them to have been men of great stature; others, tyrants and robbers; Milton includes both.—*(N.)*

689. The poet here gives the original meaning of *virtus*, "virtue," before it came, in the progress of civilization, to be taken in a moral sense.

694, 695. "And for glory done of triumph." Newton says, "this is one of the most difficult passages." Bentley proposes, "For glory *won, or* triumph." Pearce approves of changing "done" into *won*, but not of "of" into *or*. Newton thus explains the passage, "To overcome, to spoil, shall be the highest pitch of glory, and *shall be* done for glory of triumph, i. e. *shall be achieved for that end and purpose*, to be styled great conquerors," &c. Stillingfleet observes, that the construction is, "to overcome in battle, &c. shall be held the highest pitch *of glory*, i. e. of glorious deeds, *and of triumph*, for that glory done, *i. e.* for those glorious deeds done." This, I think, the meaning of the passage. Let the passage be printed thus, and it will be quite clear:—

——— "Shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and (for glory done)
Of triumph, to be held great conquerors."

"For glory done," means, *on account of* glory *achieved*.

711. The construction is remarkable; "which" is not governed by the next verb, but by the last.—*(N.)* See note on v. 369.

723. "Triumphs," here, means processions. Newton says that the account of Noah's preaching is founded chiefly

on 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20, and of his removing to a distant country, when he found his preaching ineffectual, on Josephus, Antiq. i. 3.

730. See Gen. vi. 14, &c. A cubit is a foot and a half.—*(N.)*

732. "Laid in large," largely; the adjective used adverbially, as he often does, in imitation of the Latins.

735. "*Sevens* of *clean* creatures, and *pairs* of unclean," Gen. vii.—*(N.)*

738. Addison and Newton have noticed the superiority of the English poet to Ovid, in the description of the Deluge, in condensation and chasteness of imagery. Homer, who is supposed by Eustathius to have alluded to the Mosaic account in the following fine verses, appears to have escaped their notice, Il. xvi. 384:—

Ὡς δ' ὑπο λαιλαπι πασα κελαινη βεβριθε χθων
Ηματ' οπωρινω, ὁτε λαβροτατον χεει ὑδωρ
Ζευς, ὁτε δη ῥ ανδρεσσι κοτεσσαμενος χαλεπηνῃ,
Οἱ βιῃ ειν αγορῃ σκολιας κρινωσι Θεμιστας,
Εκ δε δικην ελασωσι, Θεων οπιν ουκ αλεγοντες.
Των δε τε παντες μεν ποταμοι πληθουσι ρευντες,
Πολλας δε κλιτὺς τοτ' αποτμητουσι χαραδροι
Εις δ' ἁλα ποφυρεην μεγιλα στεναχουσι ρεουσαι
Εξ ορεων επι καρ· μινυθει δε τε εργ' ανθρωπων.
(T.)

750—752. Lycophron, Cassandra, ver. 83:—

Φαλαι τε, και δελφινες, αι τ' επ' αρσενων
Φερβοντο φωκαι λεκτρα θουρωσαι βρωτων.

Compare Isaiah xiii. 22.—*(T.)*

760. Homer compares the grief of Achilles to that of a father, Il. xxiii. 222. See Jer. xxxi. 15, &c.—*(Cal., D.)*

763. As Tiresias exclaims, Sophocl. Œd. Tyran. 324:—

Φευ· φευ· φρονειν ὡς δεινον, ενθα μη τελη
Ανει φρονουντι.—*(T.)*

766. "Dispensed," *i. e.* dealt out as it were in parcels, to be the load of many ages. This word is used here with great propriety, and in its true antique sense. To *dispense* is to *distribute* their tasks to every one. *Pensum*, from *penso*, to weigh, was the quantity of wool weighed out to the maids to spin. See iii. 579.—*(R.)*

773, 774. "Neither . . . . and." An elegant Latinism. "Neither" is not always followed by *nor*, but sometimes by *and*, like *neque* in Latin. "Vide quid agas, ne *neque* illi prosis, *et* tu pereas." Ter. Eun. "Homo *neque* meo judicio stultus, *et* suo valde sapiens." Cic. de Or. —*(N.)*

778, 779. Ov. Met. i. 311:—

"Maxima pars unda rapitur; quibus unda pepercit,
Illos longa domant inopi jejunia victu."

798. Aristotle, and other masters in politics, inculcate this sentiment, that the loss of liberty is soon followed by the loss of virtue and religion.—*(N.)*

824. Gen. vii. "The same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the *windows* of heaven were opened." Milton here follows the Syriac and Arabic, the Septuagint and vulgar Latin versions, in which the *windows* of heaven are translated *cataracts*. Those who have seen *water-spouts* descending in hot countries can best understand "cataracts" here. The "great deep" is the vast abyss of waters contained within the bowels of the earth as well as in the sea.—*(N.)*

831. The classic authors often compare rivers to bulls, whether because, when they meet with any obstruction to their passage, they divide themselves and become *horned* as it were; or from their *roaring* noise; or from their power, *horns* being used as symbols of power. So Hor. iv. Od. xiv. 25, "Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus." See Virg. Georg. iv. 371, Æn. viii. 77.

833. The Euphrates is particularly called in Scripture (Gen. xv. 18), "the great river:" "the opening gulf," the Persian gulf. Thus the Grecian wall is described as dislodged by an inundation, Il. xii. 24:—

Των παντων ὁμοσε στοματ' ετραπε Φοιβος Απολλων,
Εννημαρ δ' ες τειχος ἰεει ῥοον· ὐε δ' αρα Ζευς
Συνεχες, οφρ' κε θυσσον ἁλιπλοα τειχεα θειῃ.
(N.)

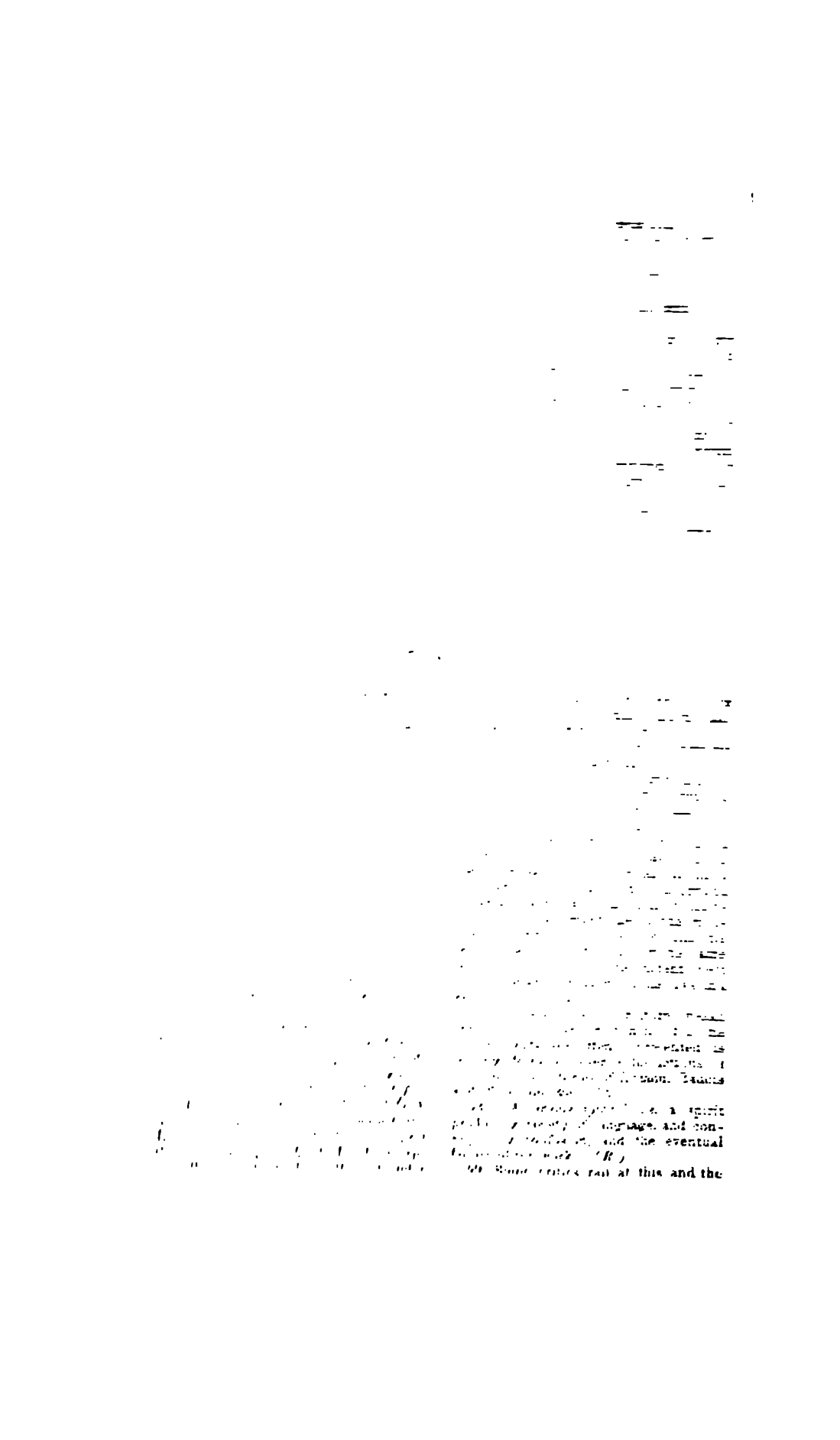
835. "Orcs," a species of whale, with a round mouth, ab *ore*.—*(T.)* "Clang," κλαγγη, and *clangor*, were generally used to express the rustling flight of large flocks of birds, and also their screams.

840. "Hull" is here a verb, to float to and fro without sail or rudder. See Johns.

841. The Scripture says only that God made a wind to pass over the earth; it is most probable that it was the north wind, as that is such a drying wind: but the poet follows Ovid in this as well as several other particulars. Met. i. 328:—

"Nubila disjecit; nimbisque Aquilone remotis,
Et cœlo terras ostendit, et æthera terris.
Jam mare littus habet; plenos capit alveus amnes;
Flumina subsidunt; colles exire videntur;
Surgit humus," &c.—*(N.)*

842. "Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decayed." Thyer censures this comparison as far-fetched and boyish. I con-



next line, as being beneath the dignity of the epic: then passages somewhat analogous in the Iliad and the Psalms are liable to a similar objection. Homer, Il. i. 599, &c. says, "*laughter inextinguishable* rose among the happy gods," when they saw Vulcan's hobbling gait; and, as Newton quotes in Psalm ii. 4, it is said, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall *laugh*, the Lord shall have them in *derision*." See also Psalm xxxvii. 13; ix. 8.

62. "Babel," in Hebrew, means *confusion*. Hence, to give effect to his description, he uses such words as "jangling noise"—"hideous gabble"—"strange hubbub."—*(N.)*

71. *i. e.* Left mankind in full possession of their liberty, free from human usurpation. See August. de Civit. Dei, xv. 119.—*(H.)*

73. "To God his tower." This not being asserted in Scripture, but only supposed by some writers, is better put into the mouth of Adam, than of the angel.—*(N.)*

81. "Brought." The past tense is here used because Michael is only making a reflection on what he had told Adam, ver. 27, and thus speaks of it as a thing past.—*(P.)*

83. "*By* original lapse," which is another reading, makes hardly sense or syntax.

85. "Twinned." As if twin-sisters.—"Dividual," divided, separated, *dividuus*.

86. "Reason obscured." The absolute case.

101. Thyer here remarks, that Milton seems to have forgotten that there is no previous mention of Adam's having seen or heard of Cham having discovered to his brothers the nakedness of their father as he slept, Gen. ix. 22, &c. and says, "the urging it by way of example seems to infer its being known to Adam, which yet it could not be." It is true the circumstance is not previously mentioned; but then, be it recollected, Adam saw Noah's worship after quitting the ark. The fact is briefly and only in general terms stated. After this there was a pause, ver. 2, Adam, in the mean time, observing (as it is just to presume) various circumstances which are not narrated, and this among the rest. It was not till after that vision that the angel *perceived his mortal sight to fail.*

105, 106. Almost a literal translation from Euripides, Hippol. 951:—

Ει γαρ κατ' ανδρα βιοτον εξοιγνωσεται
Οδ' υστερος τον προσθεν εις υπερβολην
Πανουργος εσται.—*(T.)*

107. See Isaiah xliii. 24; Hosea v. 6; Habak. i. 13; Psalm v. 5.—*(D.)*

114. "Him" is governed by "call," ver. 121. This history of Abraham and description of the Holy Land, is copied from Gen. xi. and xii. See also Joshua xxiv. 2; Numbers xxxiv.; Deut. iii. It appears that Terah, Abraham's father, was born 222 years after the flood, and that Noah did not die till 350 years after the flood, so that he witnessed idolatry for at least 128 years.—*(N., H.)*

126, 127. So Heb. xi. 8.—*(N.)*

128. The poet, sensible that this long historical description might grow irksome, has varied the manner of representing it as much as possible, beginning with supposing Adam to have a prospect of it; next by making the angel the relater of it; and, lastly, by uniting the two former methods, and making Michael see it as in a vision, and give a rapturous enlivened account of it to Adam. This gives great ease to the languishing attention of the reader.—*(Th.)*

130. Chaldea lay west of the Tigris and east of the Euphrates. He crossed the Euphrates where it was fordable. It appears that Milton conceived Haran to lie west of the Euphrates; and Basnage, in his Antiquities of the Jews, says it was in Syria of Shobah, outside Mesopotamia, in the way towards Canaan.—*(N.)* Dunster, on the contrary, says that it is clear, from ver. 153, where, describing the progressive journey of Abraham, he supposes him to have advanced considerably from Haran, when he says, "Canaan he now attains," that Milton never meant to suppose Haran or Charan to have been in Canaan. Milton seems to follow Bochart in his Geographia Sacra, published in 1651, in which it is laid down that Haran was in the direct way from Ur of the Chaldees, and on the western side of the river Chebar, which he forded; whereas Basnage, he says, was not born till 1653. Now I think as Basnage must have consulted his predecessor, Bochart, and gives a different account of the position of Haran, there must have been established authority for his opinion, and that this authority could not have escaped Milton's almost universal scholarship; I am therefore rather disposed to believe, that Milton imagined Haran to have been outside of Mesopotamia, or to the west of the Euphrates, as Newton thinks:

[illegible] at the same

time express it with so much strength and perspicuity. Compare Gal. iii. 11, 12, 19, 23; Gal. iv. 7; Rom. iii. 20; iv. 22—24; v. 1; vii. 7, 8; viii. 15; Heb. vii. 18, 19; x. 1, 4, 5; ix. 13, 14.

307. See Deut. xxxiv. Josh. i. Moses died on Mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, from whence he had the prospect of the promised land; but not the honour of leading the Israelites to possess it, which was reserved for Joshua.—*(H.)* The historical cause of his exclusion from it was, that when God suggested to him to strike the rock with his wand in order to open a fountain of water for the thirsting Israelites, he, as if doubting the efficacy of the divine injunction, repeated the stroke. Numb. xx. and xxvii. But Milton treating the history as typical, represents Moses as debarred by reason of the imperfection of his human nature, and not from any particular act, from the privilege of leading the chosen race to the happy promised land. Jesus is called Joshua, Acts vii. 45, and Heb. iv. 8. The names are the same in Hebrew and Greek.

316. "But when," *i. e.* except (or unless) when.

322. Here and in the next eight lines the commentators say Milton has digested the substance of the following texts of Scripture, Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18; 2 Sam. vii. 16; Psalm lxxxix. 34—36; Isaiah xi 10; Luke i. 32, 33. —*(H., N.)*

342. It is not stated that he *saw* them; he only *heard* a part of the angel's *narration*. He could not see Abraham, (128,) though he saw places, (142, 158.) Abraham had not then existed, but those places had; whereas Babylon was not built for many years after. We must not therefore understand the expression literally; for verbs of *seeing* are often extended beyond the bare act, and are applied to other senses and other faculties of the mind.—(See *N.*)

346. Jer. xxxiii. 20; Psalm lxxxix. 29. —*(T.)*

349. See the first book of Esdras for an account of the restoration of the temple after the seventy years' Babylonish captivity.

355—357. It was chiefly through the contests of Jason and Menelaüs, high priests, that the temple was polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes, (see 2 Maccab. v. and Prideaux.) "They seize the sceptre." Aristobulus, eldest son of Hyrcanus the high priest, was the first who assumed the title of king after the Babylonish captivity; before Christ 107. "Regard not David's sons." None of that family having had the government since Zerubbabel. "Then lose it to a stranger." To Herod, who was an Idumæan, in whose reign Christ was born. See Josephus and Prideaux.—*(N.)*

364. "Solemn." As if sent on a solemn embassy.—*(R.)*

370, 371. Æn. i. 287:—

"Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris."—*(H.)*

See Psalm ii. 8; Isaiah ix. 7.—*(H., Upt.)*

379. Luke i. 28.—*(Gil.)*

383. "Capital bruise." "Capital" is here used in the Latin sense, from *caput*, the head.

390, 391. A comma placed after the word "disabled," in Todd's and other editions, renders the passage quite incomprehensible. But remove the comma, and the passage will be quite plain. "Whose fall from heaven did not disable him from giving Adam his death's wound."

393. "Recure." Remedy.

394. See 1 John iii. 8.—*(N.)*

401. "Appaid." Satisfied, repaid.

403. So Rom. xiii. 10.—*(H.)*

409, 410. "His merits to save them." This passage has puzzled the commentators. Bentley proposes to read "*do* save them." Pearce says "the only sense I can make of it is this, 'which *redemption* and *obedience* are *his merits* to save them, and not their own works, though legal ones, and conformable to the law.'" Newton says the verb "believe" governs the rest of the sentence, "proclaiming life to all who shall believe in his redemption; and shall believe that his obedience, imputed, becomes theirs by faith; and shall believe his merits to save them, not their own, though legal works." Another critic, of no small note, though anonymous, in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlviii. p. 466, proposes to read "merits" with an elision. "Merit's," *i. e. his merit is* to (or must) save them. No doubt there are many instances of this elision and mode of writing in all poetry. But is it called for here?

415. Alluding to Col. ii. 14.—*(N.)*

420. Rom. vi. 9; Rev. i. 18.—*(Gil., T.)*

434. "Sleep" implies that we shall awake, "death" that we shall rise again to life. In some late editions the compound "death-like" was improperly introduced.—*(T.)*

447. Gal. iii. 7; Rom. iv. 16.—*(T.)*

[illegible] Gen. ii. 20 — I.

[illegible] I Cor. [illegible] Gen. ii. 20 — I.

[illegible] "Who shall tempt with wandering feet," &c. There is much consistency in this wish of these words. It is a common expression, and made a compliment. "Who shall tempt," or as in the first edit. or accordance, the object of this wish, [illegible] "the object shall touch some circumstance [illegible] and "tempt" here [illegible] to touch.

[illegible] [illegible] But afraid of man even though to persuade me there is [illegible] See Poems, [illegible] II.— A.

[illegible] See Acts v. 9. Mark xv. 17.— H.

[illegible] See Acts vi. 2. — N.

[illegible] Laws which are not written in the records of revealed religion, but in the conditions of natural religion. H.

[illegible] See v. 7 [illegible] in 17. (N.)

[illegible] Passions are called the tempers of [illegible] in 16, 17. — (N.)

"to Respiration." ἀναπνοῆς. Acts [illegible] 19.

"To The notion of a new heaven and [illegible] springing from the ruins of this world at its dissolution, Milton has often [illegible] in this poem, iii 333; x. 638; [illegible] 990. It is also the opinion of [illegible] the most orthodox divines, and [illegible] most contemplative and learned. [illegible] N.

[illegible] from St. Paul's [illegible] Heavy, I Cor. xiii. [illegible] from *spevala*, a [illegible] keep sheep." H.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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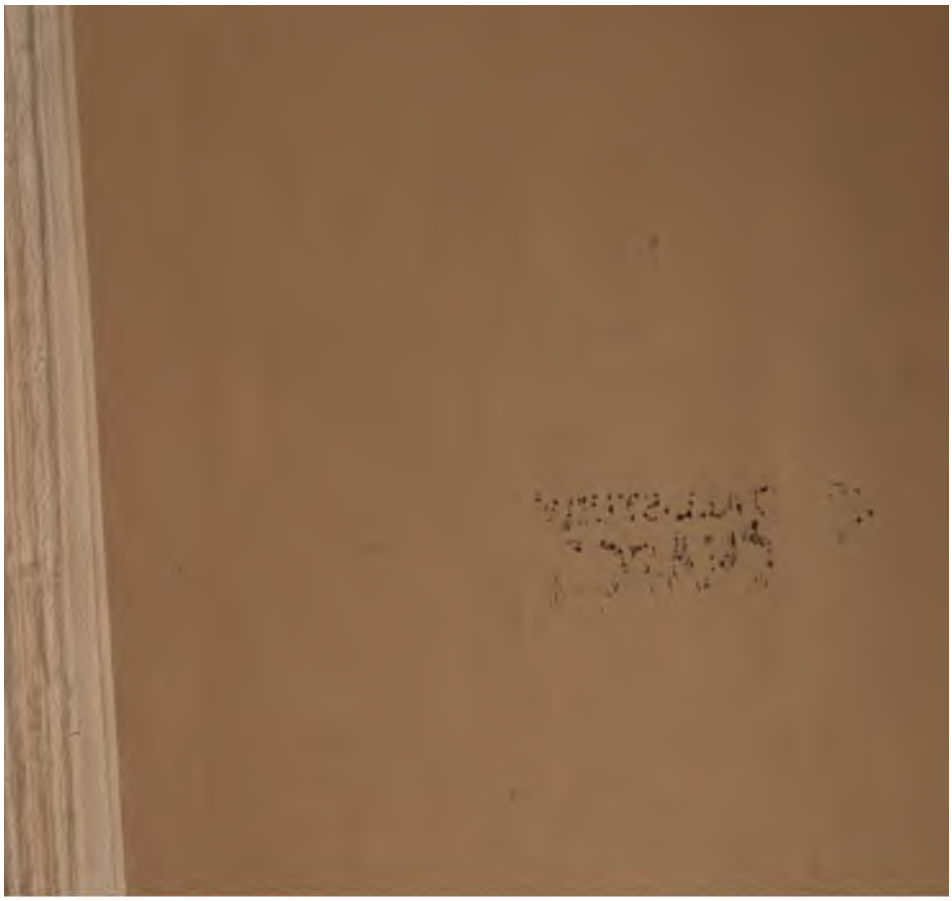

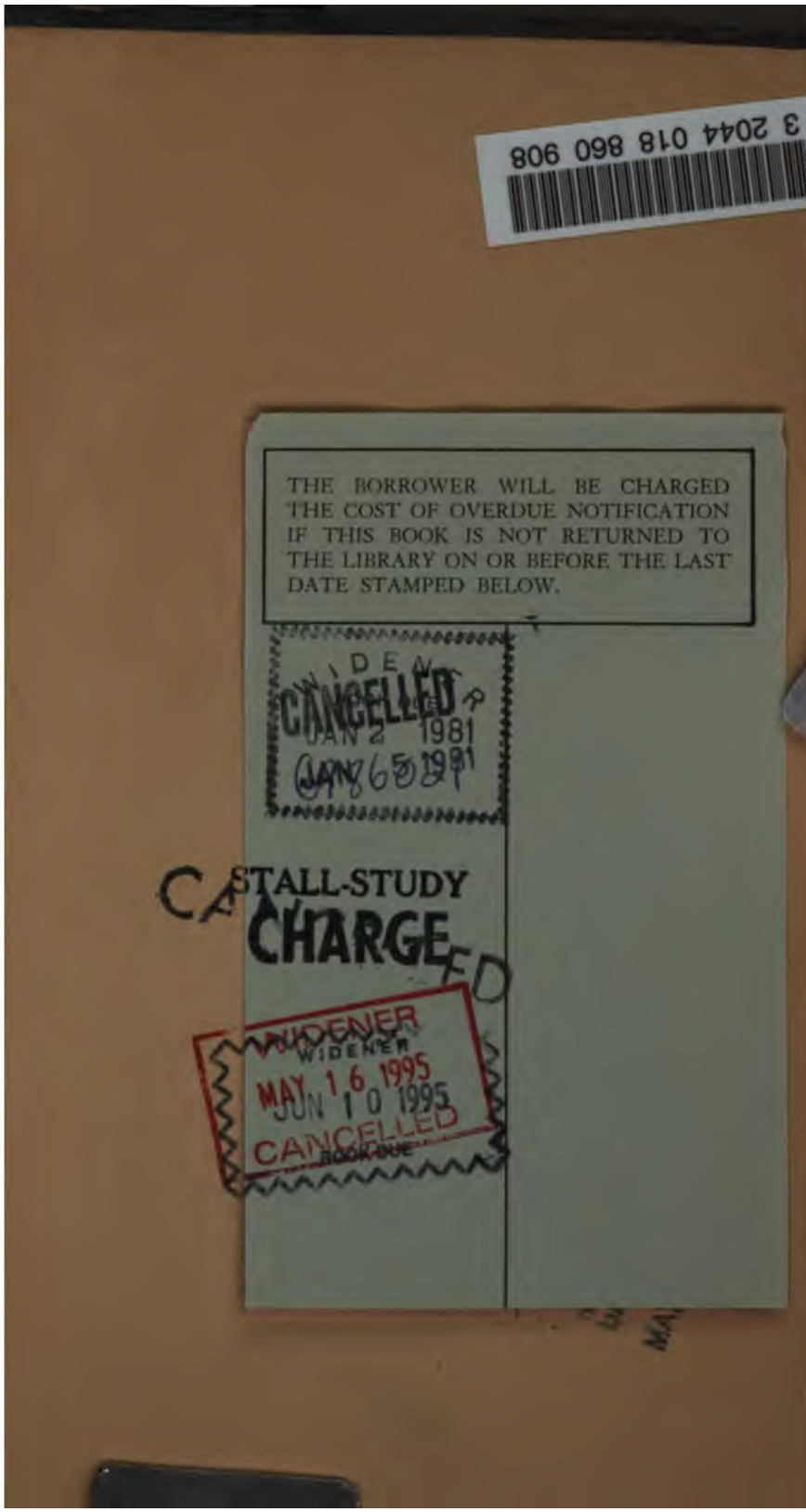
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STALL-STUDY
CHARGED

WIDENER
MAY 16 1995
JUN 10 1995
CANCELLED